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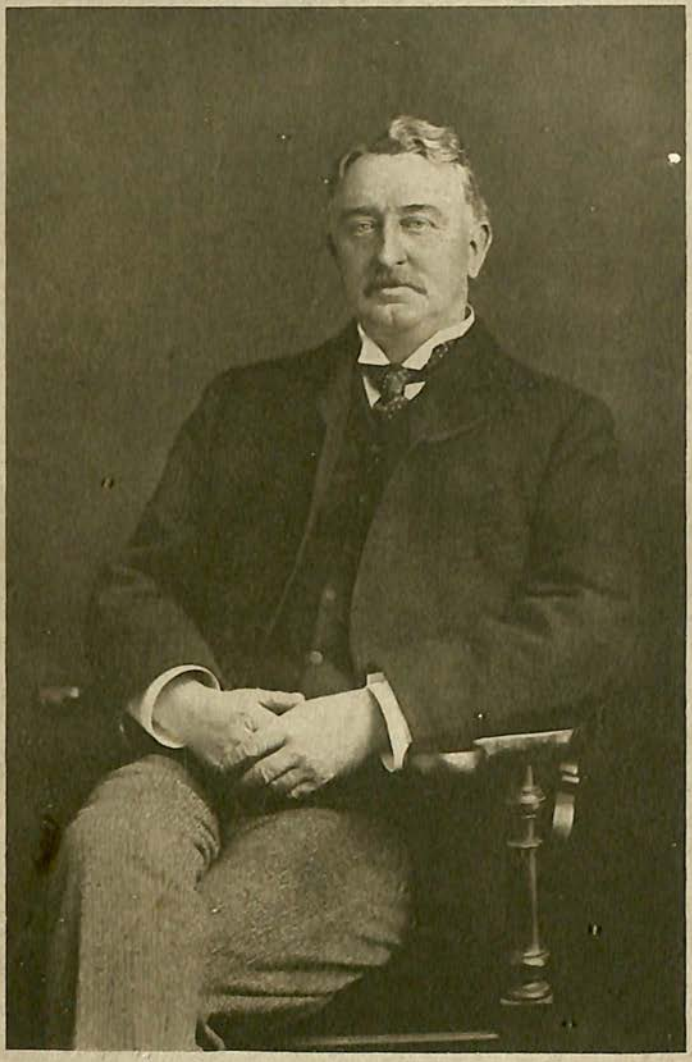
THE LIFE OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
CECIL JOHN RHODES

VOL. I



Cecil John Rhodes

LONDON EDWARD ARNOLD

THE LIFE OF THE RT. HON.

CECIL JOHN RHODES

1853–1902

BY

THE HONOURABLE SIR LEWIS MICHELL

MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, CAPE COLONY

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LONDON

EDWARD ARNOLD

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DEDICATED

TO ALL WHO LOVE

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

PREFACE

In essaying to write a Life of Cecil John Rhodes within a few years of that memorable day when, with many closer friends, I stood bare-headed beside his open grave, I feel that much has been necessarily left unsaid.

In another generation, when all his contemporaries have passed away, some one with an abler pen, and from a more effective standpoint, may arise to portray, with more success, the character and achievements of one who strove, through many strenuous years, to advance the interests of the Empire in South Africa.

Personal affection on my part may unconsciously sway my judgment of the only great man with whom I have lived on terms of intimacy, but whatever the shortcomings of his Biographer, I am confident that posterity will not fail to appreciate the genius and essential worth of one of the greatest Englishmen of the Victorian era.

To the friends who have helped me in my task I now tender sincere and grateful thanks.

I have only to add, as an Executor and Trustee under the will of the subject of this Biography, that I have had access to his private and official papers, but none of my colleagues must be held responsible for any of the conclusions at which I have arrived.

L. M.

October 1910.

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THE RIGHT HON.
CECIL JOHN RHODES

PART I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Biography of great men—Portraiture of Rhodes—Parallels: Cæsar, Clive.

It is not in their lifetime that great men can be judged. Provisional sentence may indeed be passed, but final adjudication at the bar of history is delivered at a much later period; when the dust of current controversies has been laid and events can be distinguished in their true proportions.

But the equity of the ultimate decision may be rendered more certain by a recital of contemporary facts, and for this reason it may well be that the material for the biography of men of exceptional type should be collected before the generation which knew them has entirely passed away. A man who plays a prominent part in the march of a great nation, and especially of a nation distracted by party feuds, while arousing enthusiasm in those who appreciate the boldness of his conceptions, or are admitted to the inner circle of his thoughts, inevitably arouses, also, the animosity of those who misunderstand his policy and reprobate what they consider the impropriety of his methods.

Many a man holds a lower position in the estimation

of the world than would be the case had he received justice from contemporary biographers. Who can doubt, for instance, that the reputation of Hannibal has suffered in consequence of its being recorded only by his inveterate foes?

No attempt will be made in these pages to prove that the aspirations of Cecil Rhodes were always practicable, or that his procedure was, on all occasions, commendable; but I apprehend that a sober narration of the facts at my command will not lower him in the eyes of discriminating critics, but will demonstrate, not indistinctly, that he was a great man, great even in his faults, with a passionate belief and pride in the character and destiny of his country to lead the van of civilisation, and with a robust determination to do something in his 'time and prime' for the Anglo-Saxon race and for the betterment of humanity.

The historian, who essays to describe adequately the events and tendencies of the last half-century, cannot afford to ignore his massive and commanding personality, or fail to investigate the circumstances governing the career of one who, during his brief and meteoric course, inspired affection, and perhaps hatred, to a greater extent than any other conspicuous man of his day.

My aim is to portray the real man as he appeared to his personal friends and to his political opponents: a man of many moods and contrarieties, but always in earnest, always letting the dead past bury its dead, and pushing forward to those things that are before, with never a backward glance or vain regret: a man with many human frailties, but eminently lovable in spite of, or perhaps because of, them.

It may be an arduous task to hold the scales evenly where affection guides the hand. But the attempt will be made to paint a faithful portrait free from exaggerated effects, whether of light or shade: the portrait of a modern Englishman cast in an antique mould, doubtless with the defects of his qualities, but actuated at all times and under all circumstances by an unwavering ambition, not for his own aggrandisement, but for that of the land of his birth and the land of his adoption.

It is in this spirit I desire to write the life of Cecil Rhodes.

It is perhaps an idle fancy to seek to discover a close parallel between two men, living in different ages and influenced by entirely different environments.

Some people have not hesitated to compare Rhodes with Cæsar. Guglielmo Ferrero, in his *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, says, 'Cæsar was a genius, a man whose powers have seldom been equalled in history. He was at once student, artist, and man of action: and in every sphere of his activity he left the imprint of greatness. Under twentieth-century conditions he might have become a captain of industry in the United States, or a great pioneer, or mine-owner, or empire-builder in South Africa.'

The likeness here is, however, visibly imperfect. Mr. Rhodes never had the opportunity of controlling the armed forces of the State, nor did he develop any military talent, nor was he an artist or orator or lucid writer, but, on the other hand, he possessed traces of the ruthlessness of Cæsar, he was admittedly a constructive statesman and man of action, and his genius would probably, in any age, have leapt the bar of adverse fate.

A much closer and, in some respects, a very striking parallel could be drawn between Cecil Rhodes and Robert Clive. Both were essentially Imperialist: both were men of action, of stormy temper and impatient of control: both were connected with the administration of great Chartered Companies: both achieved high renown abroad and rendered conspicuous service to their country: and both, in their declining days, were the subject of gross and persistent calumny, due, as Rhodes declared, to unctuous rectitude. Clive was educated, principally, at a private school at Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire; Rhodes, at a similar school at Bishop's Stortford in the same county. Clive, before he was eighteen, was shipped off to Madras as a writer in the service of the East India Company. Rhodes, at the same age, was despatched to Natal mainly for reasons connected with his health. At twenty-five, Clive was a commissary-captain, the victor of Arcot, and planning the overthrow of French supremacy in India. At the same age, Rhodes was at the Diamond Fields, dreaming of northern expansion and how to limit and restrain Republican ambitions in South Africa.

At thirty-one, Clive won the Battle of Plassey, and Rhodes was ruling Bechuanaland as Deputy Commissioner for the Crown. Already, at the age of twenty-nine, Clive, in a brief interval of leisure, had entered the English Parliament and been unseated on petition: Rhodes, at exactly the same age, entered the Cape Parliament and remained a member of it till his death.

Clive, before he was forty, was Governor and Commander-in-chief in Bengal. Rhodes, at the same age, had already been for three years Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and for more than a year the

virtual governor of those vast territories now known as Rhodesia.

At the age of forty-one, Clive left India for ever, his career practically ended. At about the same age, Rhodes resigned all his offices and retired into private life, as the result of the Jameson Raid.

Thenceforward, for nearly seven years, both these eminent men had full proof of the fickleness inherent in all large communities, and were exposed to rancorous criticism, much of which history will probably hold to have been unjustified. Officially, their achievements were not unrecognised. Clive had already been created an Irish peer and Rhodes sworn of the Privy Council. But both ceased, to a great extent, to be the lions of society, both were acute sufferers through failing health, and both were required to defend their conduct before a Committee of Parliament.

It may be recorded, that on neither occasion did the historic Commons House of our realm fall beneath its traditional dignity. Violent partisans on the one side clamoured for complete and unqualified acquittal, and, on the other side, for severe condemnation and proscription. But, in spite of party pressure, the House, preserving its self-restraint, steered on both occasions a middle course between the two extremes.

In the case of Clive, the House affirmed that he had undoubtedly received and retained large sums of money while Commander-in-chief, but unanimously added a rider to the effect, 'That Robert, Lord Clive, did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to his country.'

In the case of Rhodes, the Committee held, 'That the Raid had involved him in grave breaches of duty to those to whom he owed allegiance, but that, in regard

to the charge that the movement was intended to influence the stock-markets, they believed it to be entirely without foundation.'

The comparison I have sought to make might be considerably extended. Both men loved money, not for its own sake, but for the power it conferred upon them to prosecute Imperial aims. Both were sincerely desirous of protecting the natives of the country over whom they bore sway, and both were munificent in their bequests for public purposes. Clive bequeathed £70,000 to found a hospital for worn-out soldiers of the East India Company, and Rhodes formulated a far-reaching scheme of educational endowment of unique and international importance.

Sir Charles Wilson, one of Clive's latest biographers, says of him :—

'He may have committed errors, he may sometimes have been mistaken in his policy, but he was animated by a high sense of honour and duty, and by a passionate love of England.'

And again: 'There was little refinement in Clive's manner. At times stern and imperious, at times stubborn and dogged, he was blunt and outspoken even to rudeness; and he frequently gave great offence by his impatience of opposition and his openly expressed contempt for mediocrity.'

And again: 'Although silent and reserved in society, when the conversation turned upon a subject in which he was interested, he would rouse himself and take part in it with the greatest animation; while among his intimates he could be pleasant and merry enough.'

There are many persons now living who could testify that every word in these sentences might have been expressly intended for Rhodes. But I will not prolong

the parallel, merely pointing out, in conclusion, that both these great men passed away at about the same age: at forty-nine Clive died in England by his own hand, and at almost precisely the same age Rhodes breathed his last on the seashore of that Africa he loved so well.

CHAPTER II

FAMILY HISTORY

Pedigree and descent—Family connection with St. Pancras—Family vault—French *émigrés*—The Vicar of Bishop's Stortford.

THE name of Rhodes is not an uncommon one in the Midlands, and Cecil Rhodes was correct in asserting, as he did, that he came 'of farming stock,' a fact that may explain, in part, his sympathy for those who till the soil, and his passionate love for the open veld.

For the purposes of this biography, I shall deal only with the descendants of that branch of the family which existed in Staffordshire in the reign of the first Charles.

Without going outside the region of ascertained facts, I find that in the year 1660, when the Great Protector was two years dead and General Monk was marching on London to restore the monarchy, James Rhodes of Snape Green, in the parish of Whitmore, Staffordshire, married one Mary Christian, by whom he had issue two sons and two daughters. Soon after his marriage he moved into Cheshire, and his eldest son, William, was baptized in 1664 at Bisley, in the parish of Stockport in that county. The second son, Thomas, is described as of Bramall in the same parish, and Thomas's eldest son, also a William, was baptized at Bisley in November 1689.

In or about 1720 this William Rhodes, clearly a prosperous yeoman and grazier, came south and pur-

chased considerable property in what were then pleasant fields on the outskirts of London. His estate lay to the east of Gray's Inn Road, and covered the ground now occupied by Mecklenburgh and Brunswick Squares and the Foundling Hospital, and possibly, but not certainly, a portion of the present Regent's Park.

Tradition asserts that his ambition was to own 1000 head of breeding-stock, and that the ambition was never completely fulfilled.

On the 27th October 1733, he was elected overseer of the poor for the South Division of St. Pancras, and in 1740, and again in 1741, he was churchwarden of the parish. He was twice married and, dying on 18th March 1768, at the age of eighty, was buried in old St. Pancras Churchyard.

His only son, Thomas Rhodes, also a man of large means, continued to reside in the parish, where, in 1743, he occupied the position of Surveyor for the South Division, and was churchwarden in 1756 and 1757. Later, in 1772, he was on the Committee appointed to treat for a lease of the workhouse in Camden Town.

After being twice married, he died in 1787, leaving two children, a son and a daughter. The latter married Daniel Harrison of St. Pancras, and her brother, Samuel, described as of Hoxton, who was born in 1736, married Anne Wooldridge and died in 1794. Like his forebears, he was a man of substance and enterprise, possessing large brick and tile works, and acquiring additional property in Dalston, which is still held by the Rhodes Trustees.

Bartlett and Britton's topographical survey of the Borough of St. Mary-le-Bone, Edit. 1834, shows a portion of his estate as 'Rhodes's Farm' on the east

side of the Hampstead Road, just north of St. James's burial-ground.

In a subsequent edition of 1837 it no longer figures, the inference being that it had been built over. The brick kilns were to the west of Kingsland Road in the parish of Islington, and are marked 'Rhodes's Farm' in Cary's map of London, 1819.

Samuel Rhodes left, among other children, three sons. The eldest, Thomas, born in 1763, continued to reside in the parish of St. Pancras, but acquired other estates at Tottenham Wood and Muswell Hill, together with land on the Hampstead Road. He was a trustee of the Fitzroy Fund, a paving commissioner and churchwarden of St. Pancras (1801, 1802), and was also a member of the first select vestry in 1819. Marrying a Harrison, his first cousin, he died in 1856 at the age of ninety-three, and was buried at All-hallows, Tottenham, leaving one son, whose descendant in the second generation now resides at Flore Fields, Weedon, Northamptonshire.

Turning to Samuel Rhodes's second son, Samuel, I find that he was born in 1756, married Elizabeth Strange, died 26th October 1822, aged sixty-six, and was interred at old St. Pancras. His wife had predeceased him.

In the churchyard of old St. Pancras there stands a massive tomb of granite, red, on a grey base, erected by the most illustrious of the family to the memory of thirty-three of his race whose names are inscribed thereon. At the south end of the monument are the words, 'Erected to replace two decayed family Tombs, by C. J. R. 1890.' Two additional inscriptions have more recently been added, one of them reading, 'Cecil John Rhodes. Born 5th July 1853. Died at Muizenberg, 26th March 1902. Buried in the Matopo Moun-

tains, Rhodesia'; while the other records the death of his brother Herbert, who died on 21st October 1879, and was buried at Chirales, Lower Shire River, Nyasaland.

Old St. Pancras Churchyard, with which is incorporated that of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, lies in the Pancras Road at the back of the Midland Terminus. A small monument therein records that in 1875, after great opposition, an Act was passed to enable the disused burial-ground to be utilised as public gardens, which were accordingly opened on 28th June 1877. The tombstones beyond repair have been removed and placed against the churchyard wall; the trim flower-beds and well-kept paths make a pleasant oasis in that grimy street, and many of the poorer classes avail themselves of the numerous seats to come in and rest out of the noise and bustle of tramcars and coal-waggons that rattle by unceasingly. Among the burials in the ground there is something pathetic about that of John Mills, who died on 29th July 1811, at the age of ninety. As the inscription says, 'He was the last survivor of the persons who came out of the Black Hole of Calcutta in Bengal, in the year 1756.'

Cecil Rhodes also went into a 'Black Hole' in his lifetime and came out alive, though he did not attain the age of ninety!

There have been other and more illustrious interments in the old churchyard. The cheap and 'pleasant suburb' of St. Pancras attracted many of the aristocratic families of France fleeing before the terror of the Revolution. In this way a large number of *émigrés* of rank came to be buried in old St. Pancras. Few people, as they pass and repass the bustling terminus of the Midland line, know that, hard by, lies all that is mortal

of Louis de Sainte Croix, one of the last Ministers of the unfortunate Louis XVI.; of Alexander d'Anterroche, Count de Brisade, and his son; of Jean Ormond, Count d'Allonville, and his son; of François, Marquis de Bouillé; of Louis, Count d'Antraiques and his wife; of John, Count de Behaqué; of Michael, Baron de Wentzel; and of Antoinette de Chaumont, Vicomtesse de Buffevant, who survived until June 1845.

No monument remains to record the names of these and other representatives of an almost vanished race, who were driven from France at a time when the sins of the fathers were visited on their children. One does not require much imagination to conjure up the sight of these members of the *ancien régime* with broken fortunes and broken hearts, with hopes occasionally uplifted only to be again and again cruelly disappointed. Their frailties, as well as the sorrows of their long years of exile, are now for ever forgotten. May they rest in peace in the vast city which was alike their refuge and their grave!

The great man, who restored the Rhodes family tomb, and whose name is also now recorded thereon, was descended from Samuel Rhodes's third son, William, who was born in 1774 and died in 1843, and who settled at Leyton Grange in Essex, acquiring extensive property there. His wife, Elizabeth Cooper, was six years his junior, and they had issue two sons and six daughters. One of the sons died unmarried; the other, Francis William, born in 1806, was carefully educated and in due course was entered of Trinity College, Cambridge, and took orders.

From internal evidence, it would appear that the Rev. F. W. Rhodes was a man of great individuality. From about 1834 to 1849 he was perpetual curate of

Brentwood in Essex, where he was known as 'the good Mr. Rhodes'; being of a simple and charitable nature and not infrequently imposed on by the undeserving. At his own expense he built a small church to meet the needs of a hamlet in the parish of South Wiald, the vicar of which, the Rev. C. A. Belli, Precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, was an alternate patron of the living of Bishop's Stortford in Herts, to which, later on, he presented Mr. Rhodes.

From 1849 to late in 1876 he was vicar of Bishop's Stortford, where, as a wealthy man of liberal nature and zealous in all good works, he was a conspicuous figure. A memorial window to him was subsequently erected in the parish church, which he had been instrumental in restoring.

In 1833, at the age of twenty-seven, he had married Elizabeth Sophia Manet, a lady of Swiss descent, four years his junior, who died at Brentwood in childbirth two years later, leaving one child, a daughter.

More than nine years later, the widower married again, his second wife being Louisa Peacock, a lady of good family, resident at South Kyme in Lincolnshire.

The vicar is described as a tall loosely-built man, with a fine intellectual head, but with the not uncommon reputation among servants of being eccentric. His unconventionality descended in full measure upon his children. He was a very attractive reader, and an excellent preacher, with the added charm of never exceeding his self-imposed limit of ten minutes. His wife, evidently a mother of great and abiding influence, bore him eleven children, of whom nine were sons. Two died in infancy, and the others were designated by their father 'the Seven Angels of the Seven Churches,' apparently in the hope that they would follow his ex-

ample, and take Holy Orders. But to his disappointment, none of them felt a call in this direction. The State, rather than the Church, appealed more strongly to most of them. Four of them entered the army and distinguished themselves in the service of their country. The best known was Colonel Francis William Rhodes, who was educated at Eton and entered the 1st Dragoons in 1873; a man of singularly winning manners, everywhere popular and affectionately regarded, he served in the Sudan campaign, and afterwards at Suakim and Omdurman, as well as in India and Uganda. Always brilliant, he won the D.S.O., the Egyptian medal, and the Khedive's star. In 1896, he was condemned to death by the Boer Government for taking a leading part in the agitation for reform, but survived to be besieged in Ladysmith in 1899, and to die, on 21st September 1905, in his brother's historic house at Groote Schuur.

Of the three civilian sons, two also died in Africa. One of them, an adventurous hunter, who perished by misadventure, was Herbert, the eldest, who went from Bishop's Stortford to Winchester, where he was in the College eleven in 1864, distinguishing himself by capturing six Eton wickets in that year's inter-school match.

The other, Cecil, is the subject of this biography, whose chequered career, so full of daring successes and sickening disappointments, I am about to relate.

CHAPTER III

BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS

Birth at Bishop's Stortford—Latter half of nineteenth century—The Grammar School—School life—Anecdotes—Public affairs of the day—Disinclination to enter the Church—Leaves England—Arrives in Natal—Division of his life into three periods.

In the quiet vicarage of Bishop's Stortford, on 5th July 1853, was born the vicar's fifth son, christened Cecil John, one of his godfathers being Mr. R. N. Jackson, the curate of the parish, afterwards a chaplain in the Royal Navy. As his age at death was under forty-nine, he belongs wholly to the second half of the nineteenth century, and is entirely a Victorian figure, inasmuch as the late Queen had, at the date of his birth, already been on the throne for sixteen years, and he followed her to the grave in less than twelve months.

There are many people still living who can remember with what paeans the second half of the last century was ushered in. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was regarded, even in exalted quarters, as the dawn of an ampler day, when the war-drum would throb no more, and our swords were to be transformed into ploughshares.

It was a beautiful dream from which there was to be an early and agitated awakening. Sufficient allowance had not been made for the combativeness of human nature, for national ambitions, dynastic exigencies, and the scramble for oversea possessions.

Before the Exhibition buildings were razed to the ground, South Africa was standing at bay against the

menace of a Kafir inroad: in 1852 occurred the now almost forgotten second Burmese war; while in 1853, only three days before Cecil Rhodes was born, Russia crossed the Pruth and poured her troops into Moldavia, thus creating that *casus belli* which led to the Crimean war.

He was thus brought into a world, not of peace and goodwill, but of storm and stress, which seldom ceased during his lifetime.

The vicar's sons, with the exception of those who died young, were all successively sent to the local school, one of those old Foundation Grammar Schools, which for several centuries have played so important a part in the formation of our national character.

The Bishop's Stortford School, situated in Windhill, has passed through many vicissitudes. It was founded in 1579 by Dame Margaret Dane, possibly to commemorate the visit paid to the village by Queen Elizabeth a few years earlier.

Among the scholars educated there a century later was Swift's patron, the well-known Sir William Temple. It was restored and reorganised under the sanction of the Court of Chancery, in the year 1851, and the scheme of reconstruction provided, *inter alia*, 'that the income of the Charity Estate, belonging to the School and Library Estate, shall henceforth be received by the vicar for the time being of the parish of Bishop's Stortford, as the same shall arise and become due and payable, and shall be applied by him to and for providing masters for conducting the said school, and for the maintenance, repair and benefit of the said school and library.'

The vicar was very zealous, like his great son, for more systematic education, and he was instrumental in

raising £20,000 to establish a training college for mistresses in elementary schools. In 1860, backed by influential friends, and finding the Grammar School accommodation inadequate, he erected new premises in the Hadham Road, with a master's residence and chapel standing in extensive grounds.

These were leased to the headmaster, and for a time the school was carried on in both places, it being the practice for day scholars to attend at the Windhill schoolroom during the regular school hours, at the Hadham Road classrooms for preparation, and at the playing fields there for school sports.

In 1898, the Charity Commissioners sanctioned the sale of the old trust property and the purchase of the more modern buildings, which had been enlarged in 1893 to commemorate the successful headmastership of the Rev. Godfrey Goodman, D.D., previously the vicar's curate.

Thenceforth, the school was conducted entirely in the newer premises, a concentration that doubtless made for efficiency; but as Cecil Rhodes was there from 1861 to 1869 and was never a boarder, he was one of those scholars educated partly in the one building, partly in the other.

Concerning his school life not much is known. History and geography are said to have been his favourite studies, and he won the school medal for elocution. In mathematics he was never strong, but he gained a classical scholarship tenable for three years, and it is perhaps not unreasonable to believe that this slight success was the germ of the idea of the great scholarship foundation, which his 'immense and brooding spirit' elaborated many years later.

In 1866, at the age of thirteen, he was in the school

first eleven, and then and later he took a moderate share in current sports.

He is described as a slender, delicate-looking, but not delicate, boy, and as possessing a retiring nature, and a high proud spirit. One of the assistant masters recalls him as a bright, fairly clever lad, with nothing dreamy about him. A governess then in the family says of him, 'He was good-looking, with fair hair, and the nice and agreeable way of speaking which runs in the family.'

The school was a large and prosperous one, containing at one time nearly 150 day scholars and 130 boarders. It was well staffed and conducted on sound and sensible lines, and gave Cecil Rhodes all the school education he ever received, till he entered on that second and superior education which every man, who achieves greatness, gives to himself. In after years he frequently sent friendly greetings to the old Grammar School, and in 1898 presented it with his portrait, which was hung in the dining-hall. One of his school companions, writing to him in later life, says: 'Do you not remember that the boys always called you Rhodes. We never used your Christian name, somehow. It is thirty-eight years since we met, but it is not too late to express to you how proud I am to know that I was at school with you at Goodman's. Your father and sister were very kind to me. You were a delicate, golden-haired little fellow then. Now we are all scattered on the highways or byways of the Empire. I am in Jamaica. —— died at Foochow. —— is captain of the *Devastation*. —— is a rector in Kent.'

Another schoolmate, writing to congratulate him on attaining the Premiership in 1890, says: 'I well remember the last year I was at school (1865) you gained

the silver medal given by Mr. D'Orsay for the best reader.'

And a third, about the same date, writes: 'A blessing on your present and future life! Go on and prosper, and show the world what a Bishop's Stortford boy can do.'

One of the masters at the old school, Mr. Henry Wilson, wrote to the *Times* as follows (April 1902):—

'Trifles connected with the life of great men are interesting. You say that Mr. Rhodes used to declare that he came of a farming stock. From 1859 to 1861 I was a master at the Grammar School of Bishop's Stortford. At that time there were persons living who remembered Mr. Rhodes's grandfather, a cowkeeper at Islington in a large way, when all round the Angel was open fields. I knew the vicar well, a tall spare man, of polished manners and the strongly marked mobile features that indicate a muscular habit. The two eldest sons, Herbert and Frank, were in the school. Herbert, who went first to South Africa and was, I have heard, accidentally burnt to death, was a typical schoolboy—clever, volatile, with a face like indiarubber, and extraordinary command of expression. He was a born actor. Once when I was taking my class at one end of the schoolroom he was standing in class at the other end. He had been at some tricks, and the master, who had a heavy hand, had administered sharp correction. Herbert was sobbing bitterly, and big tears were dropping on the floor. On the master's turning for a moment the other way all signs of grief disappeared like magic, and a hideous grimace took their place. The master, aware from a titter that something was going on, turned sharply back to see an agonised countenance and tears again rolling down. He might have excelled in another calling, that of Blondin. When I have been

out for a walk with the boys and we passed an unfinished house, he would run up the ladder and out on a horizontal pole, where, without apparent effort, he would stand unsupported haranguing his schoolfellows. Cecil had not come into the school when I left, but I remember once at a cricket match, where I was umpire, one of the younger boys, probably he, a pretty delicate child in a plaided frock, was with his nurse among the spectators. The batsman hit a ball to leg, which, without touching the ground, struck the little fellow full on the arm. I rushed up fearing the bone was broken, but on testing it found it was not. I was struck by the delicate frame and small bones, and yet by the Spartan way, almost indifference, with which the child bore pain.'

It is quite conceivable that even in those early days Rhodes's dreams were of the Empire. His concentration of thought, later on so remarkably developed, was probably always one of his characteristics. To the last he was a shy and solitary spirit, full of strange silences, and with a reserve difficult to break through.

In his school days England was almost always at war. The period covered by his residence at Bishop's Stortford was crowded with great events. We were slowly recovering from our struggle against Russia, and wondering whether, after all, we had not backed the wrong horse, when the shock of the Mutiny threatened the dissolution of our Indian Empire, and we had scarcely escaped this peril when we found ourselves again at war with China, and on the brink of hostilities with the United States. In 1863, we bombarded the Japanese ports, and, a few years later, Lord Napier stormed Magdala and overthrew the tyranny of Theodore of Abyssinia.

With or without allies, Great Britain was thus struggling in many lands, in vindication of her national

honour, or in protecting or extending her oversea possessions; or, as in 1867, consolidating her Empire by creating the Dominion of Canada.

These events are not likely to have passed unnoticed by Cecil Rhodes. In 1869 he left school, but remained for a while at the Vicarage, continuing classical studies under his father's direction.

The reason for his next move is variously stated. His disinclination to enter the Church remained, nor did the army as a career appeal to him as to his brothers. Some thought him in poor health; some, that he was crossed in love. His father recognised that he was unfitted for a routine life in England, and resolved to ship him to one of the Colonies, those invaluable nursing homes to so many thousands of our younger sons.

As his eldest brother Herbert, now twenty-five years of age, was already settled in Natal, experimenting in cotton-growing, it was to that colony he was sent.

Leaving England in a sailing vessel towards the end of June 1870, he made the passage in what was then considered a record time of seventy days, landing at Durban on 1st September.

Natalians, then as now passionately devoted to their little colony, were always keen on maintaining a direct service with England. There is in the Durban Club a painting of the *Sarah Bell* of 150 tons, the first ship to come from the mother country without touching at Cape Town. She is recorded as having left Gravesend on 9th November 1845, arriving at Durban and crossing the bar on 20th February 1846, after a passage of 103 days, and the inscription, frankly unashamed of small beginnings, adds that her mail-bag contained one letter.

The life of Cecil Rhodes may be roughly divided into

three periods of approximately equal length. The first period, that of school life, was now at an end. During the second period he amassed a fortune, amalgamated the Diamond Mines where other men had failed, entered the Cape Parliament, pacified Bechuanaland, and brooded without ceasing on the possibility of Northern expansion.

During the third period, he founded the Chartered Company, thus saving all Central South Africa for the Empire; he fought a long duel with the tenacious Boer President, was twice Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, was created a Privy Councillor and became known as one of the foremost statesmen of the Empire. Then came the Raid, and, as a swift and summary punishment, the loss of place, power and prestige, to be followed by the Matabele war and the Transvaal struggle, by his being besieged in Kimberley and leaving it only to find his health shattered beyond recovery. But before his death he had regained his hold over the imagination of his countrymen, and, dying, was universally mourned by an Empire which he, whatever his faults, loved and strove for with passionate devotion.

It was at the close, therefore, of the first of these three periods that Cecil Rhodes reached the shores of that country, which has been cynically described as the grave of reputations, and with which, through years of good report and evil report, his name was destined to be indelibly associated.

CHAPTER IV

EMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

History of Natal—Progress of Durban—Dr. Sutherland's kindness—Introduction of coolie labour—Neglect of Colony by Mother Country—Cultivation of cotton—Herbert Rhodes—Life on the Unkomaas—Cæsar Hawkins—Young dreams—Native nicknames—Discovery of diamonds—Exodus from Natal—Formation of the dry diggings—Departure of Herbert Rhodes—Cecil's first speech—He leaves Natal—Arrives at the Diamond Fields.

THE colony of Natal received its picturesque name on Christmas Day in the year 1497, when that stout old Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, having rounded the Cape of Storms more than a month before, caught a glimpse of the striking bluff which guards the modern port of Durban. But da Gama pushed on over uncharted seas, till he reached India the following year, and a curtain fell on Natal destined to remain practically unraised until more than three centuries later, in the year 1831, when Lieutenant Farwell founded a small settlement on the shores of the Bay. A few years later, emigrant Boers from the Cape, coming overland, contested the position. Eight years of strife ensued until, in 1843, the intruders acknowledged our sovereignty, and the British flag was hoisted by general consent.

A Lieutenant-Governor, subordinate to the Cape, was appointed, who ruled the settlement until 1856, when a Charter was conferred upon it, and a Legislative Council set up.

At length, on 20th July 1893, Natal received the gift

of full self-government, the Hon. Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson being her first Governor.

Nobly since then has the colony played her part as an outlying post of Empire. Again and again has she been called upon to take up the white man's burden. Her patriotism has never faltered. She put down the rising of Langalibalele in the year 1873. In helping to break the overshadowing military power of the great Zulu tribe in 1879 she saw the best and bravest of her sons fall on the bloody field of Isandhlwana, and saw, too, ere the next sunrise, the disaster heroically avenged at Rorke's Drift, on the banks of the Tugela River.

Later, she passed through the furnace of affliction on the summit of Majuba, and, later yet, beheld her peaceful village of Ladysmith the scene of a titanic struggle between contending armies, under circumstances which immortalised its name in the history of our race.

But throughout these stormy experiences the energy of her colonists has never wavered. Men of sturdy English stock have, through all vicissitudes, laboured, with rare success, to build up her industries and expedite her progress and material prosperity. Whenever in the fullness of time the history of our colonies comes to be worthily written, Englishmen will have no reason to be ashamed of their countrymen in Natal.

In 1870, when Cecil Rhodes landed at Durban, the Garden Colony, as it is fondly called, was in its infancy. The spaces in the town, that passed for streets, were full of drifting sand. A dangerous bar blocked the entrance to the port, and the few small ships that arrived lay out in the offing and rolled gunwale under. Now a liner of 10,000 tons steams safely in.

There were no railways, whereas now a traveller entraining at Durban can travel to Cape Town in one

direction, or beyond the Zambesi in another, without break of gauge. There were few public buildings and few comforts and conveniences. But plans for the future, since fulfilled, were widely discussed. The citizens recognised the natural advantages of the place, and were resolved to make the most of them. And they have done so. Public gardens, handsome edifices, a noble embankment, broad streets, all bear testimony to the vigour of the community.

And now, from the picturesque slopes and wooded summit of the Berea overlooking the town, there peep out hundreds of English-looking homes, nestling in the midst of semi-tropical foliage, and either commanding a view of the Indian Ocean, or, fronting inland, a glimpse of that other and perhaps even more beautiful prospect, the Umgeni River, winding like a silver thread amid luxuriant plantations to the sea.

The lad of seventeen, who was to set his mark on South Africa, and who died there a millionaire and the owner of 300,000 acres of its finest land, came out as an immigrant entitled to a free grant of 50 acres to be paid for in five years. This land he took up, but he had no capital. The allowance he received from his father was a trifling one, and he was destined frequently to feel the pinch of poverty.

His brother Herbert, to whom he was shipped, was not to be found on his arrival, being absent up country on one of those adventurous trips which finally ended in his tragic death. Fortunately for the boy, he secured immediate and influential friends in the person of Dr. and Mrs. Sutherland, then residing a few miles out of Maritzburg. Dr. Sutherland was Surveyor-General of the Colony, and it was part of his duty to show new settlers where to take up land, but he did much more

than his duty and was on very many occasions a friend to the friendless. Herbert Rhodes had begged the Surveyor-General to have his brother met on arrival, and both he and his wife were kindness itself to the newcomer. In their hospitable house he was made to feel at home until Herbert's return. His health had been re-established by the voyage, and his hosts found him very quiet and a great reader. To the motherly eye of Mrs. Sutherland he appeared to have outgrown his strength, but she does not remember that in other respects he seemed different from other lads of the same age.

Even in those days the Natal colonists were a self-reliant community, with a passionate affection for the land of their adoption and a robust faith in its destiny. They were already putting forth strenuous efforts to develop the resources of their delightful territory. They were experimenting in cereals, sugar, coffee, tea, fibre, and cotton.

For many years their industry met with but scanty reward. The climate was favourable, the soil fruitful. But their efforts often suffered shipwreck owing to insufficient capital, and the rooted disinclination of the natives to manual labour. So far back as 1874, a Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council to import 50,000 Indian coolies to do the work which the natives could not be induced to undertake, and their advent saved the colony from economic disaster.

It is melancholy to reflect that while a promising colony was permitted to languish from want of financial support, Great Britain was lending, and often losing, her surplus millions to 'sick' States like Egypt, Turkey and Greece, or to fraudulent bankrupts like some of the South American Republics. Foreign States were un-

wisely supported; our own colonial flesh and blood were left to starve. The Imperial spirit was still slumbering. Colonies were regarded as encumbrances. Any second-rate European State could borrow from us at five per cent.: Natal had to pay ten to twelve per cent. for money, and could not secure much at even those usurious rates.

The infant industries of the colony were thus strangled in their birth. Among the most promising of those industries at one time was the cultivation of cotton, the success of which would have saved our manufacturing centres from a repetition of the calamity that had overtaken them during the great war in the United States.

If ever a nation should have exerted itself to support one of its colonies, it was now and in this direction. But little help came.

Under what was called 'Mann's Emigration Scheme,' Herbert Rhodes had obtained a grant of 200 acres in the Umkomaas Valley, known as Lion's Kloof, near the Spring Vale Mission Station, about twelve miles from the village of Richmond, and was experimenting there with cotton. He had already cleared 45 acres of Euphorbia bush and, after immense labour, had planted them with cotton.[1] On his return Cecil joined him in an informal partnership, and in a few months they had 100 acres under cultivation.

But they had to buy their experience dearly. Their first attempt failed because the rows were only four feet apart, and so luxuriant was the growth in virgin soil, that the intertwined plants became a matted and impenetrable mass of vegetation. Hence it was impracticable to keep the ground clean, and the aphis,

[1] See *Notes on Natal*, 1872, John Robinson.

the bore-worm and the caterpillar made havoc of the crop. A few bales were harvested, but not of sufficient value to defray working expenses.

The following season they doubled the distance between the rows, and obtained a very fair crop, though troubled by the fact that the cotton did not mature evenly, but ripened by instalments, entailing extra labour.

Despite the pessimistic opinions of neighbours, they persevered and, as a result, won a second prize at the next Agricultural Show, a fact often referred to by Cecil in after life, when other projects of his were derided as chimerical.

'Ah! yes,' he would say to his critics, 'they told me I couldn't grow cotton!'

Of Herbert Rhodes, an athlete of remarkable powers, a characteristic anecdote is recorded. The Umkomaas, a turbulent river, was once in full flood and washed away his cart and six oxen. Plunging into the stream, not far from dangerous rapids, he cut the harness with a daring hand, rescued the oxen, and, later on recovered the cart.

Those who have seen an African river roaring seaward in the rainy season, will appreciate the risk he ran. A friend says of him, 'Poor fellow! he would have gone far. He was of a determined, forceful character, and of unbounded energy and enterprise.'

Early in 1871, while still strenuously at work, Cecil was fortunate enough to secure a companion of about his own age. This was Henry Cæsar Hawkins, who, on leaving an English public school, came out to Natal where his father, at one time an officer of the 1st Royals, was now Resident Magistrate of the Upper Umkomaas.

A friendship soon sprang up between the two. Young

Hawkins was a frequent visitor at the little cotton estate, he himself, later on, taking up ground in the same neighbourhood with the same object in view.

At the Magistrate's house, Cecil was always a welcome guest.

The lads, without being bookworms, had been soundly educated, and were keen on retaining what classical knowledge they possessed. In their spare moments they studied together, and formed many plans for the future. Among these day-dreams, one of the most frequent recurrence was that when they had made money enough, they were to return to England together and enter at Oxford 'without outside assistance.'

As disclosing the bent of Cecil's mind, the resolution is interesting. It seems clear that he had already mapped out his career, and his subsequent matriculation at Oriel was not the result of any sudden decision.

Meanwhile, he did whatever work he found to do and did it well. It was a rough life for a home-bred boy. The country all around was a dense bush. The heat in the valley was extremely trying. There were no comforts or conveniences, and funds were scarce. The brothers slept in one hut and utilised another as a store and general living room. The stable was of reeds and grass, their kitchen the veld, a Kafir boy their only servant.

Herbert, who was of a restless disposition, was often away, and Cecil practically 'ran' the plantation.

Both were favourites with the natives, and Cecil remained so to the last day of his life. His intuitive familiarity with native ways and thoughts was always one of his distinguishing traits, and became invaluable when, in later years, he had 10,000 native labourers in his compounds—men from every tribe in South Africa,

united in nothing but their confidence in him. His magic gift of sympathy enabled him in 1896 to ride unarmed into the rebel camp in the Matopos, and compel their submission by force of argument. It enabled him, while besieged in Kimberley, to find man after man willing to accept the risk of passing and repassing through the Boer lines with urgent despatches; and, finally, it procured him at his funeral, from the serried ranks of his old enemies, the Matabele, the sonorous Royal salute hitherto only accorded to a great chief of their own colour.

In the Rev. Forbes Robinson's *Letters to his Friends* (Spottiswoode, 1904) it is stated that Rhodes started at Ixopo, and that there is still a record in the books of the magistracy there that he was fined £10 for parting with a gun to a native. The story is *ben trovato*, but unconfirmed.

On the cotton plantation, Herbert was known as 'Umbila' from his fondness for green mealies, while Cecil's nickname, for reasons unknown, was 'U'Twsai' or 'Salt.'

Whether cotton-growing would or would not have eventually succeeded in Natal, when pushed by such strenuous pioneers as the Rhodes brothers, cannot now be determined. Labour was neither cheap nor continuous, and without an adequate supply of inexpensive labour it is never easy to grow cotton with success. Moreover, the 'fly' which destroyed the bolls was an ever-present trouble. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the crop of the colony, which in 1864 amounted to 35,000 lbs., had increased to 235,000 lbs. in 1871, when an event occurred which crushed several of the struggling industries of Natal, by diverting the energies of its colonists to another sphere of action.

The romantic circumstances attending the discovery of diamonds have often been narrated, and need not be more than briefly alluded to here.

In March 1869, a superb white stone of 83 carats had been picked up by a Griqua shepherd-boy near the Orange River. In November of that year, the first organised party of prospectors, equipped in Natal by Colonel Francis and consisting mainly of officers of the 20th Regiment stationed there, arrived on the banks of the Vaal River under Captain Rolleston, and Herbert Rhodes was with them.

In January 1870, their systematic search was rewarded by the discovery of a gravel bed containing an extensive 'wash' of diamonds.

A rush followed from all parts of South Africa. After six months' hesitation, President Pretorius and his Legislative Council announced that all prospecting was illegal, as the Transvaal authorities had granted the right of exclusive search to three privileged persons. Concessions, which subsequently caused untold mischief, were thus not the invention of President Kruger. The diggers, led by men who had seen stormy days at Bendigo and Ballarat, laughed the proclamation to scorn. Mass meetings were held and a Republic established, the miners creating no new precedent, but following the practice of the Boers themselves. Then the Berlin Missionary Society claimed the area, issuing notices that trespassers would be prosecuted. The result was a roar of laughter.

A reminiscent old resident thus describes the situation:

'The diggers formed a "Diggers' Committee," and appointed Stafford Parker, a gentleman of light and leading among the rough diamonds of the wilderness, as first President. A rival digger body bearing the same

title also arose, and selected Mr. Roderick Barker as their President. Singular to relate, both Presidents agreed to disagree; so no friction occurred of any importance. Ready and meet justice was administered. The worst punishment of all was being put over the river, the delinquents being warned that if they returned something worse would happen.

'The two Republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, claimed sovereign rights, but Britishers would have none of them. Several of their officers were dragged through the water. Commandoes were occasionally despatched by the respective Republican Governments to re-assert their alleged rights, but these demonstrations of force made no impression on "the Johnny-come-lately" populace.

'The weapon employed by the diggers was good-humoured banter of the "Come-and-have-a-drink-old chap," character, which upset the bellicose temperaments of the homely Republican burghers—a method of killing warlike tendencies with kindness.'

Amid these 'alarums and excursions' camps were formed at Pniel, Klipdrift and elsewhere along the Vaal River, which were gradually assuming the appearance of settled towns, when an event happened which directed the attention of a majority of the diggers to another quarter.

In August 1870, a fine diamond had been unearthed at Jagersfontein in the Orange Free State, and shortly afterwards others were found at Du Toit's Pan, De Beers, and other points in what is now the Division of Kimberley.

The prospectors, who soon numbered many thousands, were for a time under the impression that they were still in the presence of shallow deposits, or drifts similar

to those they were already familiar with at the river diggings. They gradually realised that they had struck true diamond mines; 'pipes' of circular or oval shape, with well-defined containing walls, and going down to an unknown depth.

From this moment, the inroad of diggers from all quarters of the globe became irresistible. One of these 'rushes' took place on what was called Colesberg Kopje, because the chief workers hailed from the little town of Colesberg. The kopje has long since been carted bodily away, and in its place there is a vast circular pit, hundreds of feet deep, which for some years was a scene of superhuman activity, but has now fallen quiet, owing to the system of working in shafts instead of in the open. This one-time kopje is now the Kimberley Mine, and nearly 3000 feet below its surface diamonds are still being extracted in enormous quantities. About the same time (August 1871) the farm 'Vooruitzigt,' or De Beers, was rushed. Large numbers of claims were pegged out, each claim being 30 by 10 feet, and the licence being generally ten shillings per claim per month.

The name 'Vooruitzigt' was declared by Lord Kimberley to be unpronounceable, and its alternative 'New Rush' to be rowdy. The place was therefore officially christened 'Kimberley.'

Southey was made Lieutenant-Governor of the territory, and one of his early proclamations, conceived in a spirit of hardihood, endeavoured to suppress gambling. It is said by Wilmot that Rhodes, not then twenty, helped to draft the proclamation. If so, it was his first recorded intervention in affairs of State.

Large numbers of Kafirs came to these camps for work; the veld was white with diggers' tents; and, though the Free State authorities issued proclamations

similar to those of the Transvaal, they passed unregarded, and the population increased daily. But it was not until June 1874 that a Mining Ordinance passed into law, and the Mining Board was created a month later.

Very naturally the news of the discoveries disturbed the minds of our cotton planters in the secluded valley of the Umkomaas. Herbert, in May 1871, was the first to start. Hawkins left in June, reaching Colesberg Kopje in July. The trip in those days occupied from a fortnight to a month, the route being through Mooi River, Estcourt, Colenso, over the Drakensberg Mountains 6000 feet above the sea, to Harrismith, Bloemfontein, and Colesberg Kopje.

Cecil remained behind to dispose of his crop, and to attend the annual meeting of the Agricultural Society at Maritzburg, held on the 25th May, where he exhibited a sample of cotton, but was unsuccessful in obtaining a prize.

At a well-attended dinner in the evening the President, I observe, was supported on his right by Colonel the Hon. B. M. Ward, and on his left by the Hon. Theophilus Shepstone, who came, later on, into great prominence by his annexation of the Transvaal.

The Press report concludes by stating that Captain Bond proposed the toast of 'The Ladies,' and Mr. Rhodes responded! His speech is unreported, leaving the world not much poorer, perhaps, for the omission, but here we have undoubtedly run to earth the first public utterance of Cecil Rhodes.

In October 1871, having wound up the firm's affairs, Cecil at length bade adieu to Natal, and started for Colesberg Kopje in a Scotch cart drawn by a team of oxen, carrying with him a bucket and spade, several volumes of the classics and a Greek lexicon—surely the

strangest equipment for a youth in his 'teens, bound for a miners' camp! He arrived at his destination about the end of November, and Herbert, always on the move, at once handed over to him the working of his claim, and left for England.

It was under these circumstances that the lad found himself once more a stranger in a strange land, but his own master, and hiding under a shy exterior a masterful will, and a mind capable of forming and carrying into effect the most far-reaching projects. He was engaged in a bewilderingly novel industry, and he was surrounded by diggers of all nationalities; keen, resourceful and often unscrupulous men, against whom he was destined to pit his brains and, after long and arduous struggles, to emerge an undisputed victor. The uneventful life in Natal was over for ever, and he was now, on a larger field of action, to give evidence of those great abilities which, later on, made him one of the most conspicuous figures in the British Empire.

PART II

CHAPTER V

EARLY DAYS ON THE DIAMOND FIELDS (1872-1874)

Letter to Dr. Sutherland—River diggings—Reminiscences of friends—Frank Rhodes arrives—Cecil visits England—Enters at Oriel—Another letter to Dr. Sutherland—Mr. Dick Lauder—Death of Rhodes's mother—B. I. Barnato—Affairs on the Diamond Fields—Further letter to Dr. Sutherland—Compassion on a fellow-passenger—Froude visits Kimberley.

ONE of the first letters written by Cecil Rhodes from the Diamond Fields was to his kind friend Dr. Sutherland. As such, it may be of interest, and it is therefore subjoined.

'*Sunday, Dec.* 17/71,
DE BEER'S NEW RUSH.

'DEAR DR. SUTHERLAND,—My brother, as you expected, had sailed for England before your letter reached here. Many thanks for your kindness in answering his inquiries about land in Glendale.

'I forwarded a copy of your letter to him. I think it would be better to let the matter rest until you hear from my brother.

'As far as I am myself concerned I should think it a pity to purchase any land before seeing it; and there would be the same objections with respect to Glendale as to the Umkomaas.

'I mean the transport out of the valley, and the want of rain.

'I heard from Cole that Sewell's sluit had dried up; it really seems an ill-fated valley. Whatever is poor Powys going to do? I suppose after being burnt out and the cotton dried up, he must be thinking of abandoning the Umkomaas. You really ought to take a holiday and come up here; you could make my tent your headquarters and visit all the diggings. This kopje is still yielding at the same enormous rate and no bottom has yet been struck.

'People keep arriving every day from Natal. I am afraid many find a great difficulty in obtaining claims, as of course they do not care to give the enormous prices asked.

'The only chance is to bring up plenty of Caffres, as labour is still very scarce, and then get a claim on percentage.

'The usual terms on the Colesberg Kopje are that the worker finds everything and gives the owner of the ground 50 per cent., and people are only too glad to get claims, even on these terms.

'Are you thinking of sending a party up? I should think it would be barely a paying speculation. Of course, there is always a chance of a new Rush, but at the present moment you would have to give either a large sum for a claim or a heavy percentage of finds. Then of course you must send a white man with the party and he must have a percentage, leaving very little for yourself. The tools used here are picks, shovels and ordinary zinc buckets; rope for hauling the buckets out of the claims, and sieving which I would buy up here, as the slightest particle of an inch either way makes all the difference.

'I would send a good stock of provisions, as everything is very dear; any bacon you may have as, though

it may get overstocked, it is now about 2s. per lb. Natal preserves are selling at 2s. 6d. per pot, sugar from 9d. to 10d., tea about 5s. 6d. a pound.

I hope I am not boring you, but I thought if you were going to send a party up you would like to know what is most necessary up here.

'With many thanks again for your kindness.—Believe me, yours truly, C. RHODES.'

It will be observed that Herbert Rhodes had made inquiries as to land in Natal, but had sailed for England without awaiting a reply. Glendale, the property referred to, was the projected site of a township, locally known as the 'Frying Pan' owing to its intense heat. Situated 5 miles from Riet Valley, an abandoned station of 'the late Cotton Co.,' it was tried about this time for coffee with equal non-success, but it ultimately became a sugar estate.

Cecil, having put his hand to the plough, was not disposed to look back. With his wider outlook, he preferred to 'let the matter rest,' and thought it 'a pity to purchase any land before seeing it.'

Throughout the year 1872, he threw himself heartily into his new life, working his claims and those of his brother, and beginning to speculate in the purchase and sale of other claims.

He was never much of a believer in the river diggings, where numerous prospectors were earning a somewhat precarious living. The alluvial deposits at Klipdrift, Delport's Hope, Gong-gong, Pniel, Waldek's Plant, Forlorn Hope, Union Kopje and others, extended from 20 miles N.E. of Klipdrift to Sefonell's or Sivonellis, 60 miles to the westward. As a gamble, they exercised a fascination over many men, who preferred the shady

banks of the Vaal River to the dust and noise of what they contemptuously called the 'Dry Diggings'—Du Toit's Pan, Bultfontein, De Beers and Colesberg Kopje, all of which had been proclaimed by Sir Henry Barkly in 1871 as British territory, and erected into the Crown Colony of Griqualand West under Sir Richard, then Mr., Southey, as Lieutenant-Governor.

By the time of Cecil's arrival at the close of 1871, Colesberg Kopje, or Kimberley, had become a township of some size, and although the discomforts of the mining camp were considerable, he believed in its permanence and stuck to it. One of his acquaintances at that time has described him as 'pleasant-mannered and clever, but odd and abstracted, and apt to fly off at a tangent.'

Imperialist (Chapman & Hall, Edition 1897) depicts him as 'a tall English lad, sitting at a table diamond-sorting and superintending his gang of Kafirs near the edge of the huge open chasm or quarry which then constituted the mine.'

His table was in the open air and, sitting there, he had to scrutinise narrowly the pulverised yellow ground sifted before him for the sake of its valuable contents. As the young claim-holder is stated, by several observers, always to have had a book with him, it is probable that many of his diamonds were abstracted by his keen-eyed 'boys'; indeed, a large number of diamonds escaped even their observation, and were carted away with the debris, which, long afterwards, was rewashed, with astonishing results.

But he was not long in arriving at the conclusion that there was a far more profitable field open to him than to labour with his own hands, or superintend the labour of a few Kafirs, and he continued to buy and sell

claims in conjunction with his friend Hawkins, to their mutual advantage.

The system of individual claims led to immense speculation, but as they increased in depth the partition walls or roads between them became more and more dangerous, and by the end of 1872 they had caved in and covered many of the claims altogether. The reef difficulties, afterwards so interminable, had commenced.

Cecil is described about this time as 'with his hands deep in his jacket pockets, going silently and abstractedly to his breakfast.' Indeed he had much to think about.

A now well-known artist, who was then also a youth at Kimberley, sends me the following description of the place in 1872, and of Rhodes in those early days :—

'The New Rush, as Kimberley was called in 1872, was a chaos of tents and rubbish heaps seen through a haze of dust. I had tumbled, numbed and sleepy, out of the coach that for twelve days and nights had jolted on over mountain and veld, and landed me at length amongst the rubbish heaps of Du Toit's Pan. Having a friend at "the Rush," I set out at once to find him, but it was a puzzling business tracking men to their camps in those days, for the whole place was a heterogeneous collection of tents, waggons, native kraals and debris heaps, each set down with cheerful irresponsibility and indifference to order. At length, however, after following many distracting directions, I lit upon a little cluster of tents and beehive huts, set round an old and gnarled mimosa tree: a Zulu was chopping wood and an Indian cook was coming out of the mess tent with a pile of plates: and here it was I found my friend.

'Alongside of him was a tall fair boy, blue-eyed, and with somewhat aquiline features, wearing flannels of the

school playing field, somewhat shrunken with strenuous rather than effectual washings, that still left the colour of the red veld dust—a harmony in a prevailing scheme. This was my first impression of Cecil John Rhodes. As we brought our tents and set them next to his, I was destined in the following year to see much of him.

'The burly man of later years was at this time a slender stripling, showing some traces of the delicacy that had sent him to the Cape. He had not long come to the Fields, and the impression made upon such a nature as his by the novel world in which he found himself must have been particularly penetrating. Fresh from home and school, he found himself amongst men of much experience in many walks of life; his self-reliance led him into competition with them; and good fortune, and his clear head, brought him out on top.

'Digging for diamonds sounds a fascinating Sinbad sort of occupation, but in reality it was far from velvety. The summer days were incredibly hot and the winter nights extremely cold, and we had nothing but a little canvas between us and these extremes. Added to which mining was just then very dangerous. The roads that had been left across the mine were tall causeways of crumbling tufa, sometimes 60 feet above the claims on either hand, and constantly falling, to the great danger of the workers below. Ox-carts and mule-carts, that lumbered along these perilous ways, not infrequently went over, and altogether the claims were not pleasant spots to work in.

'But they were pleasanter than the Sorting Places, where, in those primitive days, the digger sat amongst his Kafirs, in the blinding sun and dust, passing the sifted granules of tufa before his dazzled eyes. Great heaps and mounds of this debris grew round the vast

basin of the mine, rising month by month as the excavated cavity of the crater grew deeper and deeper. Mound and mine were black with men moving and working with ant-like activity. And the cries and songs of the natives, the whirling of innumerable windlasses and the crash of buckets filled the air.

'From this high vantage one could see all the camp: gleaming patches of canvas, stretching away to the open veld, all shimmering in the noonday heat. I was working for some time near Rhodes's ground, and the picture of his tall delicate figure crumpled up on an inverted bucket, as he sat scraping his gravel surrounded by his dusky Zulus, lives in my memory.

'In the course of the Cape winter of 1872, Herbert returned bringing with him his brother Frank, who was destined to play a prominent part in Africa and elsewhere. He had been to Eton, and was waiting for his Commission. Of unusually pleasant manners and with a very shrewd outlook on the actualities of life, Francis Rhodes was bound to win success. 1st Royals, India with Lord Harris, Uganda with Sir Gerald Portal, the Sudan, the Raid, *Times* Correspondent, with Kitchener at Khartum, and finally besieged in Ladysmith, his life's history forms a brilliant pendant to Cecil's!

'As for Herbert, he was what is called in Ireland a "play-boy" and he must needs go a-hunting; for the necessary expenses he sold his claim to Cecil, and trekked off into the veld, and the rest of his days were spent in great part on the confines of civilisation. He was a member of the Transvaal "Volksraad" for the mining camp of Pilgrim's Rest about 1874, and died tragically years after through fire.

'During the same winter of '72, Cecil also went for an expedition into the Transvaal, and the experience he

gained of Boer life and ways must have been of great service to him in later years. While he was away Frank looked after the claim.

'Many young men would have been content to float on this easy tide of good fortune, but it was not sō with Cecil Rhodes. I remember his telling me that he had made up his mind to go to the University, it would help him in his career; also that it might be wise if he were to eat his dinners, the position of a barrister "was always useful." Then in his abrupt way he said, "I dare say you think I am keen about money; I assure you I wouldn't greatly care if I lost all I have to-morrow, it 's the game I like"; and so, shortly after, he went to Oxford, but before going he made several investments in claims and also in diamonds; he became very interested in old De Beers, and used to speak of it as a "nice little mine."

'Then he went to Oriel and lived the life of the usual undergraduate—with a difference. I stayed with him at Oxford some years later and saw this difference, but I doubted at the time that his college friends did; he played polo, a somewhat new game in those days, and worked and amused himself much as other men did, but I could not help thinking, as we sauntered up the High, of Kimberley far away and all the schemes and deals that this strange undergraduate was engaged in while he lived amongst boys not yet entered upon the hard business of life.

'But this was, as I said before, some years after; for a cold, caught rowing on the Isis, suspended his University career for some time and sent him once more back to Africa.

'The voyage, however, set him up, and he arrived at Kimberley well, and keen for the contest. Here again

Fortune had her eye on her friend, and brought him out at a favourable moment. Heavy rains had fallen that spring and had flooded the mines, and the digging community was rather helpless. The claims were by this time much subdivided, being worked by men having little or no capital, and with small gangs of Kafirs; there was no machinery or any means of draining the mines. Rhodes saw his chance; he managed to get hold of a practical engineer with whom he went down to the Colony and bought a couple of old engines of the threshing-machine order, and some centrifugal pumps, and sent in tenders to drain the two mines of Du Toit's Pan and old De Beers. There was no serious opposition, the tenders were accepted, and he was soon busily engaged pumping the two mines under a very satisfactory contract.

'It was not all quite smooth, however; the old agricultural machines were a bit asthmatic, and frequently broke down, and the practical engineer had his hands full to keep them in health and the mines dry. Then the fuel was a great difficulty, the radius of the wood-supply was steadily retiring before the increasing demand, and at that date there was no coal; but Rhodes had a shaggy Basuto pony and an old yellow cart in which he scoured the country before sunrise to waylay the great Boer wood waggons as they lumbered to the Kimberley market. Yes, it was assuredly "the game" that he loved.

'Until Rhodes finally took his degree he was continually going and coming between Oxford and Kimberley. His interests in the latter were, of course, always growing, and it is difficult to understand how he managed to keep his attention sufficiently fixed on his academic studies to enable him to pass.

'But Kimberley was his real university, and it was there that he graduated, it was there that he gained that insight into the intricacies of men's hearts that gave him in after years a power to govern their actions. If Africa was shaped by Rhodes in the days to come, it was because Africa shaped him in his youth.

'As I search my memory for the Rhodes of the early seventies, I seem to see a fair young man, frequently sunk in deep thoughts, his hands buried in his trousers pockets, his legs crossed and possibly twisted together, quite oblivious of the talk around him; then without a word he would get up and go out with some set purpose in his mind which he was at no pains to communicate. The same dual qualities that were to go with him through life were discernible now. He was a compound of moody silence and impulsive action. He was hot and even violent at times, but in working towards his ends he laid his plans with care and circumspection. He was fond of putting the case against himself. "You will probably think so and so," he would say, then he would balance his own contention against the view that he felt the devil's advocate would take; this habit of seeing the other side probably helped him much in his career. Few men are adequately aware what the other side thinks.

'The duality of his nature, the contemplative and the executive, had a curious counterpart in his voice, which broke, when he was excited, into a sort of falsetto, unusual in a man of his make; his laugh also had this falsetto note.

'In all his wide range he had no place for personal appearance; of this he was contemptuously indifferent. I remember the laughter he evoked by describing how, on his first return home, during the voyage his one pair

of trousers gave out in an important detail, and he had to stay in his berth until a sailor patched them with a piece of sail-cloth. The punctilious regard for minutiæ which is usual in business men was absent in his character; he was hopelessly untidy. Very simple in his tastes and wanting few things, he determined only to trouble himself about the most important, but for the attainment of these he spared neither himself nor others.

'He mostly consorted with older men, but I remember his warm friendship for one of his own age, Christian Maasdorp—a friendship that suffered no abatement from black eyes and puffed features that seemed to mark some moment of disagreement. I like to mention this, as it restores some of the balance due to youth.

'Almost a generation had passed away before I saw Cecil Rhodes again. In the meantime he had amplified the map of Africa, and had printed his name across a vast province. For good or evil, as men felt, this name had been bruited about the world as an empire-builder, a great financier, a man of vast schemes.

'I sat in the ante-room of a London hotel and waited for him. A murmur came to me through the folding doors, the deliberations of a joint-stock company reduced to one note. At length the door opened and the great man came across to where I was. We greeted and looked narrowly at each other, as men do who seek to strip away the disguise in which the years have clad them and see again the familiar face and figure. This burly frame, topped with the heavy-lined Napoleonic head—was this what time and the making of colonies had done with the stripling of yesterday?

'We talked, but we talked carefully, for many that we knew were dead, and others were ranged in opposing camps. Then I said to him, "You, of all the men I

have known, have made the biggest thing of life, you have written your name widest and highest. Now I want to know how you feel about it; have you enjoyed it? Has it been worth all the trouble?"

'He paused and looked at me, and then in the falsetto that I so well remembered, he said, "Yes! I enjoyed it. Oh yes!" he added, as though reassuring himself, "it has been worth the candle," then with a grim smile he added, "When I thought Kruger was going to hang Frank, and I was not very sure they mightn't hang me too, I didn't like that." Then again, with another change, he went on, as he walked up and down in his old impatient manner, "No, the great fault of life is its shortness. Just as one is beginning to know the game, one has to stop." In truth, it was *the game* he loved, and very soon he had to stop.'

When Frank Rhodes returned to England, Herbert's roving nature again asserted itself and, persuading Hawkins to accompany him, he departed for Natal, where, at the instigation of a sanguine prospector, he purchased a waggon and oxen and trekked for the Northern Transvaal, and spent two or three years at and near Spitzkop looking for alluvial gold with only moderate success.

Others, however, were more fortunate, as the following brief note of his, rescued from the Press of the period, will show:—

'PILGRIM'S REST, *2nd Dec.* 1875.

'*To* DR. BIRD.

'I beg to inform you that Messrs. Orsmond and Barrington, two miners at Pilgrim's Rest, found 13¼ lbs. weight of gold in one half day's work. The gold was weighed in grocers' scales, the same as sugar, and washed

out in a dish. Amongst the gold was one nugget of 4 lbs. weight, two of 3 lbs. weight, etc., all coarse gold.

H. RHODES.'

'During the winter of 1872, Cecil made a tour of inspection on his own account. Striking north to beyond what is now Mafeking, he travelled in an ox-waggon to Pretoria, Murchison, Middelburg and back to Kimberley, having spent a delightful seven or eight months on the veld, and laid the foundation of that affectionate regard he ever after felt for the patriarchal and hospitable Boers.

Doubtless in the vast solitudes through which he travelled he had leisure for many reflections as to the future of South Africa, and possibly on that parliamentary life at the Cape which he subsequently adorned.

But his first ambition was to complete his education. After making the necessary business arrangements and keeping steadily to his purpose, he set his face towards Oxford, arriving in England in August 1873. The following letter is undated, as usual, but from internal evidence was written early in October 1873:—

'BISHOP'S STORTFORD, HERTS, ENGLAND.

'MY DEAR DR. SUTHERLAND,—You will wonder who it is, writing to you from the above direction. I have no doubt you have almost forgotten my existence, and you may be sure that I only write to bother you in some way or other. I have asked my agent at the Fields to send you any money that arises from my Diamond claims at Colesberg Kopje, and I want to ask you whether you would mind investing it for me in Natal. I prefer Railway shares and £18 or even £19 would not be too much, but if you will be kind enough to take the trouble for one of *your old emigrants* I feel I cannot

do better than leave it to your discretion. . . . I prefer putting any money I may derive now from my claims out in the Colony, as the interest is better and it saves the expense of sending home.

'As to my brother's farm in the Umkomaas, I think he did very wisely not to drop any more money down it. You would be surprised if I told you what a sink it has been. I believe if one only kept on, it has a capacity to absorb any amount of capital. I have now a farm of 3000 acres in the Transvaal, which is no earthly good and only sunk money. We also own that farm of Major Dartnell's. I suppose there would be no chance of exchanging for a farm near the coal districts? Is it too late? I have told Lauder to send you down my money as he makes it, unless, of course, you refuse the bother.

'I am rather sorry now all the money I made I brought home to England; one puts it out at such low interest, as high interest here is another name for "smash."

'I go up to Oxford next week. Whether I become the village parson, which you sometimes imagined me as, remains to be proved. I am afraid my constitution received rather too much of what they call the lust of the flesh at the Diamond Fields to render that result possible!

'Frank is in a cavalry regiment and I have another brother who has just got into the Engineers, so that we are fast becoming a military family. Whether I shall follow their example remains to be proved.

'I hope Mrs. Sutherland and the children are all quite well. Do your boys still gallop to school every day? I suppose you have not been down to the Umkomaas lately?

'I hear Dr. Gallaway is coming home. I very much

want to see him if he does. However I shall be sure to see his arrival in the papers.—Yours truly,

'C. J. RHODES.'

He was 'going up to Oxford next week' and, indeed, matriculated at Oriel in October 1873. The choice of Oriel may possibly have been prompted by the fact that the provost was a relative of his friend Hawkins. The authorities were not cognisant of the fact that they were entertaining unawares not indeed an angel, but a grateful student and munificent benefactor, for whom they now pray on Commemoration Day.

The letter just set forth was confirmatory of one written from England to his agent at Kimberley, Mr. John E. A. Dick Lauder, from which the following extract will suffice :—

'If you have any money of mine and do not care for a Diamond spec. send it to Dr. Sutherland to buy railway shares with in Natal. I mean not the new Railway, but the one that runs to the Point. There are always some on the market. Tell him not to bid higher than £18, but leave it a good deal to his discretion. You might ask him to put it into any investment he might suggest. It is no use sending money home.—Yours truly,

'C. J. RHODES.'

This letter must have reached Kimberley by the 10th September 1873, for on that date Mr. Dick Lauder wrote to Dr. Sutherland as follows :—

'KIMBERLEY, *Sept.* 10*th*, 1873.

'P. C. SUTHERLAND, Esq.,
Surveyor-General, Maritzburg.

'DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of dropping you a few lines in the first place to introduce myself as acting as

Mr. Cecil Rhodes's agent on the Diamond Fields. He asked me to send you certain moneys to invest for him, and I now enclose you a part of his letter to me *from England* which will show you exactly what he wants. If you will kindly let me know if it is all right, I will send you a draft on the Standard Bank for £150.—Yours truly, JOHN E. A. DICK LAUDER.'

The letter is endorsed by the addressee in business-like fashion :—

'Reply—offering 12 shares at £18, 10s. or to deposit at Natal Bank, etc.'

On 3rd December 1873, Mr. Dick Lauder again wrote to Dr. Sutherland as follows :—

'KIMBERLEY, *Dec.* 3, 1873.

'Yours to hand of the 19th November, for which many thanks. I think that as you have written to Mr. C. Rhodes about investing money in Natal, I will leave it entirely to him to do as he likes and therefore send down by this mail a draft on the Standard Bank for the sum of £200, so that, should you want any money to invest for him, it will be all ready for you. I am going to England at once myself or would have waited to hear from Mr. Rhodes. I will see him at home and tell him what I have done.'

This apparently trivial correspondence is not without its interest. The foresight of Cecil Rhodes, even in a small matter, is very marked. He would not invest money in England, where the return was poor. He would not sink any more money on land in Natal. But he was a buyer of Railway shares there. 'Not the

new Railway,' he says, that being a Government line, paid for with money borrowed in England, but 'the one that runs to the Point.'

The allusion is to a short private line then running from the landing-place at the port of Durban to the town itself. The writer already saw that the discovery of diamonds and gold would greatly stimulate the demand for imported merchandise, South Africa being in no sense a manufacturing country. He saw also that the geographical position of Durban, an energetic and advancing port, would secure for it a considerable share of the coming trade, all of which must travel over 'the little line' to connect with the projected Government railway.

Incidentally, one gathers that his father was still pressing him to enter the Church or the Army, but he evades the issue with a lighter, more playful touch than, with him, was usual.

The Vicar at this time was in poor health, and was residing at Woodhall Spa for the benefit of the cure. Cecil is said to have rather surprised visitors there by presenting them with uncut diamonds, which he carried about in his waistcoat pockets.

But the Vicar was to have his thoughts turned suddenly in another direction, for on the 1st November 1873 his wife, to whom he was deeply attached, died and was buried at Bishop's Stortford—Cecil, at the age of twenty, thus losing the good influence of a devoted mother, with whom he had, contrary to his wont, carried on a very voluminous correspondence.

It was in July 1873, as Cecil Rhodes was on his way to England, that he passed on the water, outward bound in the steamer *Anglian*, a young fellow of exactly his own age, a Jewish lad of respectable lineage and limited

means, with whom he found himself, later on, involved in a tremendous struggle for supremacy.

Barnett Isaacs, the grandson of an honoured Rabbi, but the son of a small shopkeeper, was educated at the Hebrew Free School at Spitalfields. When he left it at the age of fourteen to serve in the shop, he entered on life with one of the shrewdest intellects of his generation, with high spirits, a talent for low comedy, a merry disposition and undaunted courage. Under the well-known 'stage' name of Barney Barnato, he subsequently founded the Barnato Mining Company, amalgamated it with the Standard Company, and thus formed the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company by buying up joint-stock and private interests, at the same time and in the same way that Cecil Rhodes created the De Beers Company. I shall record, in its proper place, how these two men came ultimately face to face and how, after a prolonged struggle, the Jew capitulated, though with all the honours of war. 'Rhodes was a great man,' said Barnato once, 'for he bested me.'

In March 1874, Cecil was once more at Kimberley, his return from Oxford being accelerated by the advice of a specialist who found both his heart and lungs affected, and entered in his case-book a prophecy, 'Not six months to live.' This diagnosis was to some extent confirmed in June by a local practitioner, who said the patient must not think of ever returning to England. Much dispirited, Rhodes unbosomed himself to a lady for whom he had a great regard, and who was just leaving with her husband on a trip to Fourteen Streams in an ox-waggon. He gladly accepted her invitation to accompany them, and his twenty-first birthday was spent at Hebron, on the banks of the Vaal River. The weather was cold and bracing, and the open-air life,

abundant exercise, plain living and early hours did him a world of good, and he returned to the Diamond Fields in restored health.

It was the year of the repeal of the old regulation against the possession of more than one claim. The consolidation of small interests at once commenced. Barnato's financial genius soon asserted itself, but Cecil Rhodes, equally astute, and having fewer limitations, outshone him. The two young diggers, just of age, came to be recognised as the ablest speculators on the Diamond Fields. Their comrades and their rivals were senior in years, men of greater resources and more trained business experience, but Barnato and Rhodes were the Napoleon and Wellington of the rough community. Genius overleaps all barriers. Both the contestants lived to enter parliamentary life, and died millionaires, but only one of them left a permanent mark on the history of his adopted country.

Cecil Rhodes at this period was still, to all appearance, a shy, awkward youth, addicted to classical studies. His ambitions were absolutely unknown.

Mr. Gardiner Williams, in his standard work on the Diamond Fields, describes him as 'a tall gaunt youth, roughly dressed, coated with dust, sitting moodily on a bucket, deaf to the chatter and rattle about him, his blue eyes fixed intently on his work or on some fabric of his brain.'

It must not be thought that life on the Diamond Fields was an easy one. Camp fever was very prevalent; there were no amenities and the anxieties were manifold. Early in 1874 the reef fell in continuously both at Colesberg Kopje and in De Beers. Thousands of tons of shale covered some of the claims, and the value of others fluctuated violently, as did the price of diamonds,

making speculation a risky procedure. Many of the diggers moved off. Throughout it all Rhodes stuck to his post, selecting trustworthy agents to work his claims on 'halves'—that is, the owner took half the profits, the lessee the other half, out of which he paid his working expenses and kept his gear in repair.

At one time there were terrific floods until hardly a brick house was left standing in either camp. The Mining Board taxation was onerous. There was also litigation with the Government, the Griqualand West Legislative Council carrying a Bill to resume the right of the Crown to all diamonds found in the territory. Fortunately for the public peace, the Home Government disallowed the measure. Commercial credit was at a low ebb. The banks refused advances and bankruptcies were numerous. Operators like Rhodes were therefore liable to ruin at any moment. 'He was often hard up,' says one friend, 'as we all were.

His speculations involved the necessity of realising his small Natal investment. The following is his letter to Dr. Sutherland on the subject:—

'*May* 28/74,
KIMBERLEY DIAMOND FIELDS.

'DEAR DR. SUTHERLAND,—Many thanks for your letter. I have a bill to meet of £150, so would like to know if you could sell those shares for what they were bought, or (what I would prefer) could you get me £150 on them at the Natal Bank and remit to me?

'I am not a great believer in Churches or Church purposes, in fact am afraid life at College and at the Diamond Fields has not tended to strengthen my religious principles. There was a man who came out with me named Williams, a second-class passenger in the *Asiatic*.

He went on to Natal very bad with consumption and hard up: no friends: packed off from England to die abroad. If he is not dead, please give him the balance. If he is dead, take it for the Church. I fear he is dead by this time. Saulez came out with me; he knows about him. If you could manage any means to send him to the Free State, I would pay the further expense.

'Mine and my brother's land below I suppose is not worth having. These Umkomaas Valleys, if they won't grow cotton, are perfectly useless.—Yrs.,

'C. RHODES.

'*P.S.*—Just now the Kopje is full of water, no money coming in from ground, all going out. In about six months I could repay the Bank. Please remit, if you can, by return.'

It is to be inferred that Dr. Sutherland had asked him for a contribution towards Church work in Natal, but he 'was not a great believer in Churches.' Official Christianity and dogma had no attraction for him, and he was frank enough to avow that college and mining life 'had not strengthened his religious principles.' But if Christianity is to stand or fall by its results, 'going about doing good' must be taken into account.

Cecil Rhodes was not a regular, or even an irregular, attendant at divine service, but in practice he was a good Samaritan. If his was not the conventional religion of the churches, whether established or unestablished, it was, at all events, a very real and practical religion of humanity that dictated this brief note. In the same breathless sentence that announced his unorthodoxy he went on to set apart all, and perhaps more than all, he could spare towards giving a chance of life to a poor second-class passenger whose condition had moved his

compassion. He was not one to advertise his generosity, for he loved, all his life, to do good by stealth. No one will ever know, this side of the great day of reckoning, the hundreds of cases he relieved by timely financial aid, or by words of sympathy and high hope, more potent to alleviate distress than any pecuniary assistance. Most of his friends can recall instances of his generosity. None of us know them all. But they are doubtless recorded in that 'Volume of the Book' kept by Him from whom no secrets are hid.

Towards the end of 1874, although the depression remained and litigation between claim-holders continued, brighter days seemed about to dawn, and by the end of October the Kimberley Mine had been unwatered by Rhodes at great expense. Many fine diamonds were found about this time, among them stones of 114 and 237 carats.

On 5th December, Mr. J. A. Froude was at Kimberley as the special representative of Lord Carnarvon, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. At a banquet given in his honour, he made one of his facile, eloquent but unpractical speeches in favour of Federation, forgetting perhaps the wise saying of Laou-tsze that a nation is a growth and not a manufacture.

It is permissible to believe that Rhodes was there, a not inattentive listener.

CHAPTER VI

KIMBERLEY REMINISCENCES (1875-1880)

Early struggles—Poverty—Amalgamation of mining interests—Extinction of individual digger—Arrival of Alfred Beit—Mining vicissitudes—Discovery of 'Blue' ground—Pumping contract—Mr. C. D. Rudd—Sir Charles Warren—First will—Historical survey—Dr. Jameson arrives—Death of the Vicar—Death of Herbert Rhodes—Controversy with Orange Free State—Settlement for £90,000—Gaika war—Annexation of Transvaal—Anthony Trollope.

DURING the period on which I am now entering, Cecil Rhodes lived a strenuous and, in one sense, a dual life, for he spent, as a rule, several months in each year at Kimberley and the remainder at Oriel College.

In September 1875, young Hawkins returned from Spitzkop to the Diamond Fields and thus records his impressions :—

'I found Cecil very much grown and now a man of some importance and authority. He and a few others had a small mess in a wood and iron house, between Kimberley and De Beers. Amongst others, there were the late Sir Jacob Barry and Sir Sidney Shippard. I frequently dined there with Rhodes and was always much struck with the lead he took in any discussion, and the attention paid to whatever he said by men much older than himself, for he was then only twenty-two. It showed, in a small way even then, that he was marked out as a leader of men.'

Mr. Justice Lawrence, in his pleasantly discursive volume, *On Circuit in Kafirland*, says of him :—

'In the early days he used often to sit for hours on

the margin of the De Beers Mine apparently idling, but really reflecting and getting his ideas into shape.

'One rather shuns the hackneyed word "magnetic," but he certainly possessed an exceptional will-power, and a peculiar skill in using the topics and arguments which most effectively appealed to his immediate interlocutor or audience. He was thus enabled, by the combination of force and knowledge of character, to exercise a singular ascendency over all sorts and conditions of men, illustrious personages and powerful capitalists, politicians and men of business, farmers, working men and native chiefs, who came within the ambit of his influence.

'His mould was that of the great merchant adventurers of an earlier age, who laid the foundations of that dominion beyond the seas, over which King Edward has for the first time, in his style and title, formally recognised the sway of the British Crown. Adventures are to the adventurous; and it was reserved for Mr. Rhodes to show that, even in the nineteenth century, it was still possible for a British subject to be a great adventurer.'

The amalgamation of conflicting interests in the De Beers Mine proceeded slowly. So far back as 1873, Rhodes had joined hands with Charles Dunell Rudd, a Harrow and Cambridge man, nine years his senior, and the partners had gradually increased their holdings in the mine. Robert Graham's claims were secured in 1874, and, shortly afterwards, those of other holders.

The partners traded as Rhodes, Rudd and Alderson, and their first aim was to secure the entire ownership of a block of claims known as Baxter's Gully.

At one time a chance arose of purchasing the entire

mine for £6000, but the project failed owing to their inability to raise the necessary funds. They were under heavy pecuniary liability at one time to one of the banks, by whom they were treated with scant consideration, a fact Rhodes, who had a retentive memory, never forgot. Until long afterwards he exhibited a marked antipathy to all banking institutions.

Mr. Gardiner Williams says, 'Money was not very plentiful in those days, as is shown by the fact that one of the first cheques of the De Beers Mining Company was drawn by Rhodes in his own favour for £5, as an advance against his salary as secretary.'

In 1878 Rhodes, with eleven others, kept bachelor quarters in Kimberley, and the group were locally nicknamed the Twelve Apostles.

As the original De Beers Mining Company was only registered on 1st April 1880 with a capital of £200,000, it is clear that the intervening years were a period of great financial anxiety to Rhodes and his friends. Even so late as 2nd September 1885, he wrote to one of them, 'We are just off to England. Have had to square my Bank account with £100.'

The year in which they founded their first company, Barnato, working on similar lines, created the Barnato Mining Company, which comprised some of the richest claims in the Kimberley Mine. It is noticeable that Rhodes, out of a sentiment that never failed him, retained the name of the Dutch Boer who had owned the property, while Barnato gave to his company his own name.

The two corporations, operating side by side, did not come into competition for several years, when a prolonged struggle for supremacy occurred, as will be described later on.

Meanwhile Rhodes secured a new ally in the person of a young man, who for sheer financial ability must, in strict justice, be admitted to have outshone both Rhodes and Barnato as conclusively as they outshone all their other competitors.

In 1875 there came to Kimberley from Hamburg, as a diamond buyer, a youth of the same age as Rhodes, of the name of Alfred Beit. Born of a wealthy and honourable family, and possessing in abundance all those qualities which make for success in life, he was gradually drawn into close, and ever closer, relations with Rhodes. For many years before their death—for the one did not long survive the other—it is not too much to say that they were the complement to each other.

The far-reaching aspirations of Rhodes were translated into accomplished facts by the intellectual and financial aid of his loyal friend. Their minds acted and re-acted on one another, and although Rhodes was ordinarily one of the most self-reliant of men, his phrase in great emergencies was, 'What will Beit say?'

It is too early to write an adequate appreciation of Alfred Beit. The simplicity of his nature led him to prefer the shade. His singleness of aim, his kindness of heart, his princely but unobtrusive generosity, endeared him to a wide circle of friends. His business talents were of the highest order, and he possessed a nimbleness of apprehension and a power of mental arithmetic seldom equalled.

Though an alien by birth, he lived and died in England, and when he was laid to rest in the typical village churchyard of Tewin, in the county of Hertford, the county in which his distinguished friend was born, the

mourners present were profoundly moved by a sense of irreparable loss. The funeral, unlike that of Rhodes, was unaccompanied by demonstrations of national feeling, or by the royal salute of a war-like race, but in its homely beauty it was equally impressive.

During the seventies the diamond mining industry continued to be carried on under circumstances of ever-increasing difficulty. The constant falls of reef brought ruin to many and appalled the stoutest heart. Diggers' committees suggested crude and impracticable remedies. Mining Boards, with borrowing as well as rating powers, harassed the claim-holders, wasted immense sums, but left the position of affairs little better than they found it. To pay their way, diggers had to produce and throw on a weak market all the diamonds they could win, and this unrestricted output necessarily depressed prices still more. Many men, after a strenuous struggle, abandoned hope. Rhodes, Rudd, Beit, Barnato and a few other far-seeing claim-holders recognised not only the disease, but the remedy. Amalgamation of interests and regulation of the supply were to them the only chances of salvation, and they laid their plans accordingly.

To do him justice, Sir Richard Southey formed the same idea at an earlier date; writing to his friend Shepstone on the 29th August 1870, he predicted that the business, to be successful,' must be worked by large companies.'

Meanwhile, in spite of all drawbacks, the industry manifested extraordinary vitality. Kimberley was still without railway communication. Supplies by ox-waggon were two months on the road, and were consequently sold on arrival at fabulous prices. The diggers lived in

tents, or in houses constructed out of packing cases. Their food was mainly tinned meat. Fever and dysentery were, therefore, rife. Many of them lost hope when the yellow ground gave out and they struck 'hard blue.' But Rhodes, and a limited circle of friends as cheerful as himself, saw that the blue, like the yellow, ground was contained within the walls of the reef, and that the diamonds on the surface must have been forced up from below. Consequently they held on, and their faith was justified when the 'blue' was disintegrated and found to contain diamonds in quantities exceeding even their hopes.

Hawkins records that in 1876 he was asked by Rhodes to accompany him one night to a meeting of De Beers Mining Board. 'Rhodes,' he says, 'had taken on a contract to pump out the mine, and there had been very great delay in the arrival of the necessary machinery if I remember aright, from financial reasons. The Board had become fractious and impatient. I have never forgotten the way in which he, still quite a youth, handled that body of angry men and gained his point, an extension of time.'

The pumping contract was in the hands of Rhodes, Rudd and Alderson, and they practically cleared the Kimberley, De Beers and Du Toit's Pan Mines of water, with very inferior machinery, including an irrigation pump purchased by Rhodes from a farmer in Victoria West.

There is a story connected with the acquisition of this pump which has been related to me. At the beginning of Rhodes's career, when he had, with his partners, got a contract to pump De Beers Mine free of water, the railway had only got within some 300 to 400 miles of Kimberley, and the necessary pumps had

been delayed. It looked as if he must fail to carry out the work, as nowhere could a suitable pump be found. One day, however, he heard that a farmer in the Karroo —a Mr. Devenish—had in his possession a pump of sufficient capacity, which he had bought for raising water to his cultivated lands, and he set off determined to buy it. The farmer, however, refused to sell, despite repeated requests from Rhodes. 'No,' he said, 'I bought it for certain work and I want it.

'Yes,' said Rhodes, 'but you are not using it and not going to for some time, so sell it to me at a fair profit and send for another.'

'No,' said Mr. Devenish, 'I might want it before another got here, so I absolutely refuse to sell.'

Rhodes went away, but returned in the afternoon and got the same reply. This went on for several days, and the farmer got quite annoyed at the sight of the young fellow coming up so often, and in sheer desperation said one morning, 'Well, I will sell at . . .,' naming a figure so much in excess of the value that he thought it would frighten Rhodes off for ever. To his astonishment the reply was, 'Very well, I buy it; let 's get it on a waggon at once.' And very shortly afterwards he set off in great glee with it for Kimberley.

The next trouble was to get there in time. The wet season was in full swing and the waggon was slow; in fact, the owner, a Boer, at last said he must wait till the weather moderated, else he would kill his oxen. Said Rhodes, 'It will ruin me if you are not there by such a day.' Replied the transport-rider, 'It will ruin me if I try; my oxen are my only means of livelihood.' 'I will buy them,' said Rhodes, 'at a good

price, and you can get others'; little thinking that the Dutchman would consent, as he had no cash with him and knew well the objection of such people to accepting cheques. The Boer, however, said, 'It is right; as you are a good sort of fellow, I will sell.' So down sat Rhodes and wrote him out a cheque in *pencil* as there was no pen or ink available; and then they pushed on, getting to Kimberley in time, and he was able to lay the first foundation of his wealth. He used often to talk of the trustfulness of this Boer, and said that, like many of that race, he was one of Nature's gentlemen, and that from the day he made the deal with him he always had a greater respect for his countrymen.

Mr. Rudd remembers that on one occasion, during the absence of Alderson, on whose technical knowledge they mainly relied, they were obliged to continue the work unassisted. The work was heavy and done principally at night. One evening the partners tossed up as to which of them should attend to the engine on the floor of the mine, while the other, on the edge of the crater, superintended the removal of the debris to enable the water to flow off without hindrance. It fell to Rhodes's lot to work the engine. It was a calm and beautiful night and Rudd could see his partner walking up and down abstractedly, when suddenly there was an explosion and the engine was completely wrecked, Rhodes having forgotten to supply it with water!

Another anecdote of Rhodes may here be recorded as told many years later by Mr. W. W. Paddon. 'It was in 1876,' he says, 'that five young fellows, including Rhodes and myself, met in solemn conclave in a small room at Kimberley, to discuss the affairs of Greater Britain, and we decided to address a letter to the then

Prime Minister, Lord Beaconsfield. The proposals we put forward were characterised by much "cheek"! We pointed out exactly how the Empire should be governed. Much later in life Rhodes remarked to me that he had never deviated from the policy we then laid down in that shanty on the Diamond Fields.'

In the month of August 1877 Rhodes met the future General Sir Charles Warren, who was three years his senior. Warren was then a young engineer officer, but already possessed a C.M.G. and the appointment of Special Commissioner in connection with the delimitation of the Griqualand West boundary. They were destined to meet again in after years and not always in harmonious relations. The following incident has often been narrated. The two young men happened to travel northward together, Warren to attend the duties of his post, Rhodes returning from Oxford to Kimberley. Both were reserved, silent men, but Warren's curiosity was aroused by the fact that his companion relieved the tedium of the post-cart journey by intent study of the Book of Common Prayer, and he was still more astonished when his inquiry elicited the fact that the youth was mastering the 39 Articles, as part of his University curriculum.

In or about this month Rhodes suffered from his first attack of heart failure, which for a time so shook his nerves that his friends once found him in his room, blue with fright, his door barricaded with a chest of drawers and other furniture; he insisted that he had seen a ghost.

It was immediately after this incident, and no doubt as a result of it, that Rhodes made his first will. On 19th September 1877 his confidence in the ultimate success of his projects, though to ordinary observers

they were still precarious, led him to make a remarkable testamentary bequest. Elusive fortune seemed to others still far from his grasp, but his robust faith in his power eventually to dispose of millions, led this youth of twenty-four, amid his many anxieties, to leave his entire estate (before he had acquired it) to Lord Carnarvon, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to his successors in office, and to his friend Sidney Godolphin Shippard of the Inner Temple, *in Trust.* In the customary legal phraseology the document was preluded by the statement that it was his last Will and Testament, whereas it was his first and very far indeed from being his last. He describes himself as being of 'Oriel College, Oxford, but presently of Kimberley in the Province of Griqualand West, Esquire.'

Omitting the usual formalities, which may be taken as read, it will suffice to record that the trust was as follows: 'To and for the establishment, promotion and development of a Secret Society, the true aim and object whereof shall be the extension of British rule throughout the world, the perfecting of a system of emigration from the United Kingdom, and of colonisation by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labour and enterprise, and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire Continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates, the Islands of Cyprus and Candia, the whole of South America, the Islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain, the whole of the Malay Archipelago, the seaboard of China and Japan, the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire, the inauguration of a system of Colonial representation in the Imperial

Parliament which may tend to weld together the disjointed members of the Empire, and, finally, the foundation of so great a Power as to hereafter render wars impossible and promote the best interests of humanity.'

This is the only clause in the Will, possibly because in no document drawn by human hands was there room for any more clauses without an anti-climax.

Compared with the Empire here breathlessly formulated, that of Rome seems pale and ineffective, even in its palmiest days, when the tramp of the Legions resounded across Europe and 'there went forth a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed.'

His daily companions amid the diamond claims and debris heaps of Kimberley, had they seen this astonishing document, might well have questioned his sanity of mind. But he kept his own counsel and went on with his usual work, never hasting, never resting, till he acquired the fortune, the disposition of which he had thus already provided for.

It is easy to laugh at the high-stepping political ambitions of the young digger 'sitting on the edge of the Kimberley mine.' It is easy to disparage the light that irradiated his day-dreams as a 'light that never was on sea or land.' But the document, for all that, is worth analysis. In one comprehensive sentence the world was reconstituted, North America recovered, South America occupied, all Africa annexed, China and Japan relegated to the position of Dependencies, the Isles of the Pacific colonised, the Holy Land secured for the Zionists, the route to India made safe by the acquisition of such strategical points as the Valley of the Euphrates, Cyprus and Candia, and then, as a result,

the re-united Anglo-Saxon race, one and indivisible, its ships on every sea, its flags on every shore, was to police the world and permit no shot to be fired and no war-drum to throb throughout a regenerated universe!

The course of events has fallen sadly short of the vision that presented itself to the ardent young Imperialist a generation ago. The United States of America have gone their own way and become a world-power, developing on lines of their own. We have not absorbed them, nor they us, and the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon stock are no nearer re-union than they were. German, rather than British, influence has expanded in South America. German influence too has penetrated Africa, both on its east and west coasts. China is awakening. Japan has 'found' herself, the Holy Land is still in the grip of the infidel, while the Isles of the Pacific have, in many cases, passed to foreign powers.

On 21st February 1853, before Rhodes was born, the Czar Nicolas, addressing Sir Hamilton Seymour, said, 'If in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the Empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objection to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia.'

We rejected the offer and preferred a showy war from which we gained nothing. Egypt, under stress of circumstances, has since come under our protection, and Cyprus was leased to us on 4th June 1878, within a year of Rhodes's will; but Candia, though valuable as a strategical point, is not ours, and the only continent on which we have widely extended our dominions is the continent on which he personally laboured. The consolidation of the Empire, the creation of a truly Imperial

Parliament, the systematic planting out of our surplus population: all these great questions are still in the dream-stage, but if they are ever solved, posterity will not forget the young man who, amid uncongenial surroundings, sowed the seed of which he was never to reap the harvest.

It must also in fairness be conceded that long before the 'scramble for land,' especially in Africa, became acute, Rhodes foresaw it and endeavoured to provide for it. Some time afterwards he explained his policy in the following words:—'Having read,' he remarks, 'the history of other countries, I saw that expansion was everything, and that, the world's surface being limited, the great object should be to take as much of it as we could.'

On another occasion he put it more plainly by stating that he desired to make 'more homes,' and placing his hand on his favourite map of Africa, 'I want,' he said, 'to see that all red.'

In 1878 Rhodes made yet another friend of his own age, one to whom he became so deeply attached that neither the flight of time, nor an incident that might have severed any friendship, availed to interrupt for a moment an affection that never abated while life lasted.

With Barnato, after strenuous rivalry, he worked harmoniously as a business comrade, but the two men had little in common. Their intimacy was official rather than personal. With Beit he was on closer terms and grew to rely on him with unbounded confidence. But with his new friend the ties were nearer and dearer.

Leander Starr Jameson, son of a Writer to the Signet, was born in Edinburgh on the 9th February 1853,

emigrated to South Africa in 1878 and came into immediate contact with Rhodes at Kimberley. Their friendship was from the first absolute. The newcomer became his medical man, his *fidus Achates*, his lieutenant and, in time, his successor in the Prime Ministership of the Cape Colony, and one of his trustees. But here are Dr. Jameson's own words. Writing in 1897 (*Imperialist*, pp. 392-3) he says, 'We were young men together then and saw a great deal of each other. We shared a quiet bachelor establishment together, walked and rode together, shared our meals, exchanged our views on men and things, and discussed his big schemes, which even then filled me with admiration. I soon admitted to myself that for sheer natural power I have never met a man to come near Cecil Rhodes, and I still retain my early impressions, which have been fully justified by experience.'

And again, 'He used to talk over all his plans and schemes with me, and, looking back at them now, it surprises me to note what little change there is in his policy. He had, for instance, even at that early date, formed the idea of doing a great work for the overcrowded British public, by opening up fresh markets for their manufactures. He was deeply impressed with a belief in the ultimate destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race. He dwelt repeatedly on the fact that their great want was new territory, fit for the overflow population to settle permanently. This purpose of occupying the interior and ultimately federating South Africa was always before his eyes. The means to that end were the winning of the Cape Dutch support. "They are the majority in the country," he used to say, "and must be worked with."'

In the previous chapter I recorded that during his

early Kimberley days, Rhodes had the misfortune to lose his mother. His father, the vicar, never recovered the blow. Retiring from his clerical duties, he settled at Fairlight in Sussex, and there, on 25th February 1878, he passed away. His eldest son Herbert, as already noted, followed him to the grave in the succeeding year, and was buried where he died, in what was then the *terra incognita* of Nyasaland.

As the seventies drew to their close, momentous events occurred in the country which Rhodes had made his home. On the 13th July 1876 the wearisome controversy with the Orange Free State as to the ownership of the district, known as the Diamond Fields, was amicably settled. British jurisdiction was admitted, the Republic receiving £90,000 compensation for its alleged rights, with a conditional promise of £15,000 for railway purposes. The arrangement was, on the whole, an equitable one, but was arrived at mainly owing to the sagacity and conspicuous moderation of President Brand, a statesman to whom South Africa owes more perhaps than it recognises.

In 1877 the Cape had to face a Gaika war, in which Sandilli, Xoxo and Matana, sons of Gaika, were killed, Tini Macomo and Dimba captured, and Kreli deposed. In the same year the practical state of anarchy in the Transvaal seemed to H.M. Government to call aloud for intervention. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, accompanied only by a police escort, annexed the Republic. The Treasury was empty. Except by the natives, taxes had ceased to be paid. The salaries of civil servants were in arrear. Secocoeni in the north defied the State, and Cetywayo, on their flank, was a formidable menace. A shrewd observer, Anthony Trollope, wrote later to the *Daily News*, 'I visited the Transvaal in 1877.

The Boers had not congregated even for defence. No taxes had been paid for many months. The mail service was all but discontinued. Property had become worthless. Education had fallen lower and lower. My conviction is that had not the English interfered, European supremacy throughout a large portion of South Africa would have been endangered. I think the annexation was an imperative duty.'

The annexation was received in Pretoria with a sigh of relief. President Burgers to 'save his face' recorded his protest, but Kruger himself accepted office, and became a paid member of the Executive Council. But the acquiescence of the back-veld Boers was a sullen one. Their protest, less articulate than that of their official leaders, was far more effective. Israel retired to its tents and sulked. Whatever chance there might have been of winning the loyalty of our new subjects was destroyed by our own acts, some of them creditable to us, some not. It is to our credit that Sir Garnet Wolseley put down Secocoeni, and that Lord Chelmsford, undismayed by the fatal disaster at Isandhlwana, overthrew the Zulu power. It is to our credit that we reformed the paper currency, restored the solvency and prosperity of the country, and set up a pure system of government.

But our good deeds were more than neutralised by the unwisdom of the Cabinet of the day, in refusing to act on Shepstone's suggestion to convene the Volksraad promptly and have the annexation ratified. The acutest onlookers believed at the time that such ratification would have been passed by a majority, thus depriving malcontents, later on, of the plea that our acquisition of the State had never received constitutional sanction. Shepstone's removal, and the appointment of an

unpopular and unsympathetic governor resulted, as local wellwishers predicted, in gathering discontent to a focus, with the disastrous effect we all know. And thus the decade ended.

I must now take my readers from the turmoil of South Africa to the seclusion of Oxford.

CHAPTER VII

OXFORD DAYS (1873-1881)

Oriel's famous sons—Terms kept—Sports at Oxford—Contemporary recollections—Public events—Sir Bartle Frere—Delagoa Bay—Notable books—Enters the Inner Temple—Becomes a Freemason.

WHEN Rhodes went to Oxford in 1873 it was with a view to entering his name as an undergraduate at University College. He had an introduction to the Master, G. G. Bradley, who immediately asked him if he intended to read for honours. Rhodes being older than most undergraduates are when they enter the University, and having no time for the full course of honours reading, it was only open to him to take a Pass Degree. The master thereupon informed him that he could not see his way to enter his name on the books of the College, but he was willing to give him an introduction to the Provost of Oriel, 'where they were less particular in this respect.' The result was that he went to Oriel, where they readily entered his name upon the books, and hence it was to Oriel that he left £100,000. It is interesting to note that this was the college of another great empire-builder more than three centuries ago, viz. Sir Walter Raleigh, who read there for his University Degree.

Oriel College, founded by Edward II. in 1326, boasts a long roll of sons distinguished in Church and State. The most widely loved priest of the Church of England, John Keble, was once Fellow and tutor there, and the

ancient college may well be proud to have sheltered the author of *The Christian Year*, a man pronounced by Gladstone to have been not merely a poet, but a scholar and a saint.

But Keble does not stand alone. Archbishop Whately was there, and Dr. Pusey, Archdeacon Denison, Fraser of Manchester, Dean Church, Richard Froude, Hartley Coleridge, Arthur Butler, and many others still serving conspicuously in Church and State. The simple piety that adorns the features of Bishop Ken and the masterful vitality of Arnold of Rugby still look down upon us from the ancient hall, and from the Common Room. There, too, are Arthur Clough, White of Selborne, Matthew Arnold, but above them all, unapproachable in its intellectual beauty, one regards with admiration, and even with awe, the genius that shines supreme in the face of Newman.

When Cecil Rhodes matriculated, the Provost of Oriel was the well-known Edward Hawkins, D.D., then a very old man, who held office from 1828 to 1882. The present Provost, Dr. Charles Lancelot Shadwell, was then one of the Fellows and the senior treasurer. Professor Goldwin Smith, Regius Professor of Modern History, was an Honorary Fellow.

The following terms were kept by Rhodes :—

1873. Matriculated 13 October and kept the Michaelmas Term from 10 October to 17 December, residing at 18 High Street.

1876. Kept Easter, Act or Trinity, and Michaelmas Terms from 24 April to 6 July, and from 10 October to 17 December, but was at Kimberley during the Long Vacation. During the Michaelmas Term he was living at Grove House, Grove Street.

1877. Kept all four terms, but again spent the Long Vacation in South Africa. While at Oxford this year he resided partly at No. 5 King Edward Street, and partly at No. 12 Museum Villas.

1878. Kept Lent or Hilary, Easter, and Act or Trinity Terms, from 14 January, residing all the time at 116 High Street, then returned to Kimberley and made the acquaintance of Dr. Jameson.

1881. Took his seat in the Cape Parliament in April, was speaking at Kimberley in August, but kept his Michaelmas Term from 10 October, residing at 6 King Edward Street, and took his degree in December.

It will be observed that during 1874-75 he was unable to attend, probably from want of means, and again during 1879-1880 when the formation of the De Beers Mining Company prevented his leaving Kimberley, but his purpose never wavered. It was indeed seldom he ever abandoned any project on which he had set his mind. It has been stated that he was unable to reside in England during the winter, but this is an error. It was his heart, rather than the lungs, that troubled him.

During the winter of 1876 he was Master of the Oxford Drag Hunt, a quaint appointment, bearing in mind that he rode with a loose rein and had an eminently unsafe seat in the saddle. One of his friends still remembers the infliction suffered by Rhodes's neighbours, due to his sitting up late of nights, practising on the horn in order to acquit himself with credit in his new part.

It cannot be said that he devoted much of his time

to sport, but such as came in his way he followed in moderation. Rowing was one of his favourite pastimes. A friend of those days writes of him, 'In or about March 1877 I came home (from South Africa) and wired to him at Oxford. He at once came up to town and fetched me down, and I stayed as his guest at the Mitre. He was at that time out of college. I remember he was keen on polo, which was not so common in those days. I went with him to a wine, and was amused to notice how much older in manner the other undergraduates were than Cecil. They were full of that spurious wisdom assumed by many young men as a defensive armour, an armour he did not require.'

Another contemporary strikes a somewhat different note and says, 'I did not take to him at first. He was unyielding and he trod on me, but I gradually got to understand him, and we became fast friends.'

Mr. C. W. Middleton Kemp writes, 'We were contemporaries and (I am proud to say) friends at Oriel from 1875 to 1878. I well remember how we used to chaff him about his Long Vacation trips to South Africa, when he always cheerily replied that we would be surprised one day at developments there, and we have lived long enough to see the truth of his prophecy. He had in Oxford days, as in after life, nothing small about him: he was a big man with a big heart and a big mind, and always a real good friend. I have a photograph of him as he was at Oriel which I value very much.'

Another college friend, afterwards a Cabinet Minister, says, 'I remember him as a quiet good fellow with what I should call the instincts of an Englishman, but I do not recollect that there was any indication of the great strength of character and genius for empire-build-

ing, which made him so remarkable a man afterwards. I can safely say that, later on, no man ever impressed me so strongly with the great Imperialist idea. It seemed to be part of his brain, and his impatience with any difficulties, personal or public, was quite remarkable. He certainly had the power not only of driving his ideas home, but of warmly attaching to him the men who enjoyed his confidence, and in my judgment he was not only a splendid Imperialist, but a most attractive personality.'

One of his Oriel friends, the Rev. A. L. Barnes Lawrence, writing to the *Westminster Gazette* on the occasion of his death, says, 'He was generally popular because natural and unaffected, though reserved as to his private affairs, and with a coldness of speech and manner which betokened an unconventional attitude towards things in general, and towards the University in particular. At the same time there was an evident desire on his part to conform to college rules and regulations. His manner was quiet and unassuming, and if he felt that he had it in him to accomplish great things, he never allowed others to see it.'

It has been asserted (I give the anecdote for what it may be worth) that he left Oxford £50 in debt to a tradesman, who wrote it off as irrecoverable, but received the money many years afterwards, with interest.

Several recollections of his Oxford days were recorded in the obituary notices that appeared in the Press in 1902. A writer in the *Daily Telegraph* said, 'I often heard him say in after life that it was while he was alternately an undergraduate and a digger, that he first entertained the idea of painting red the map of Africa. At all times and under all circumstances, he

was a Seer, which I take to be the best definition of a dreamer of dreams, yet possessed of extraordinary business capacity.'

The writer of the *Times* notice said, 'He did not apparently read hard during his Oxford life, and was more than once remonstrated with for non-attendance at lectures. His only reply was a pertinacious "I shall pass, which is all I wish to do!"'

In the *Westminster Gazette* the Rev. A. G. Butler, a tutor during his time, wrote, 'His career at Oxford was uneventful. He belonged to a set of men like himself, not caring for distinction in the schools and not working for them, but of refined tastes, dining and living for the most part together, and doubtless discussing passing events in life and politics with interest and ability. Such a set is not very common at Oxford, living, as it does, a good deal apart from both games and work, but it does exist and, somehow, includes men of much intellectual power which bears fruit later.'

Many years after he left Oriel, he came there to stay for a night with the Provost (Monro) who had asked a few dons and undergraduates to meet him. The function was dull to a degree, until Rhodes, striking the table with his fist, cried, 'Let us all have a drink!' Says one who was present, 'The ice was broken and we all enjoyed ourselves.'

It may not be out of place here to glance at the principal questions and events interesting the public mind during the terms kept by Rhodes at Oxford. Throughout the period under review, that is from February 1874 to April 1880, Disraeli, the first of our latter-day Imperialists, was in power, and it is not improbable that his somewhat spectacular administra-

tion fired the imagination and coloured the subsequent career of the young student.

The problems relating to Africa were numerous and perplexing in those days. In 1873-74 Sir Garnet Wolseley was conducting, with marked efficiency, his campaign on the Gold Coast. In 1875 Disraeli, against all precedent and without the prior authority of Parliament, purchased the Khedive's interest in the Suez Canal, thus leading up to our Protectorate over Egypt. In the same year, Lord Carnarvon, in good faith but without the co-operation of the States concerned, launched his abortive scheme for the Confederation of the South African Colonies. In 1877 the Confederation Act, a permissive measure, became law, and the Transvaal was annexed. The Cape Colony suffered the anxieties of the Gaika war. Two years later occurred the far more serious campaign in Zululand, followed in due course by the first Boer War, and the 'Grand Renunciation' as the aftermath of Majuba.

Sir Bartle Frere, Pro-Consul from 1877, was superseded in August 1880 by what was considered a safer, less showy, High Commissioner in the person of Sir Hercules Robinson. Frere had for some time caused anxiety in England by a forward policy, a policy which, when inaugurated by a high official, must always stand or fall by its results. Sir Michael Hicks Beach had already remonstrated with him in a despatch dated 23rd January 1879, and censured him in a more formal manner on 17th March in the same year. When Disraeli fell from power and was succeeded by Gladstone, Frere's services were, at the outset, retained, the Queen's regard and his own high character being no doubt determining factors in the decision. But the Liberal left-wing was dissatisfied and demanded his

head on a charger. In the new House on 27th March 1880, Dilke's vote of censure on the Government was only defeated by a majority of 60. The hint sufficed, and Frere was recalled. The sympathetic crowds which filled the streets of Cape Town on his departure were never equalled there until, twenty-two years afterwards, the body of Cecil Rhodes passed to its resting-place.

Among occurrences affecting South Africa, one other deserves reference. At Versailles, on 24th July 1875, the long dispute with Portugal over the ownership of Delagoa Bay was brought to a close by the award of a Marshal of France. The question had been simmering in leisurely diplomatic fashion since 1823, when Captain Owen, R.N., had entered into a treaty with native chiefs there and hoisted the British flag. M'Mahon's award was against us, on the ground of our failure to maintain effective occupation. Few persons at the time realised the blow thus dealt to the solidarity of our possessions in Africa.

There were, of course, many public questions in those days entirely unconnected with Africa, but none the less interesting to the Oriel students. In February 1876 the Queen emerged from her long retirement and opened Parliament in person. In the following year Her Majesty was proclaimed Empress of India at Delhi. The Conferences of Constantinople and Berlin aroused public interest; we occupied historic Cyprus, and Indian troops were for the first and only time utilised as a demonstration in Europe.

Events such as these are likely to have been the subject of vigorous discussion among the undergraduates at Oriel, and one can picture the young Kimberley digger, with his great Will in his pocket, and his head full of high schemes for the expansion of the race which

he believed to be the finest in the world: one can picture him, I say, taking a keen and, withal, a sardonic interest in the arguments that raged ever so furiously around him between the young disputants who, with the air of infallibility which sits so gracefully on youth, delivered, as their own, opinions which only echoed those of their fathers' house.

Apart from politics, Rhodes, as a diligent student of history, would probably be deep in two publications, both by Oxford men, that appeared almost simultaneously during his residence there: the masterly treatise by Stubbs on our Constitutional History, and the incomparable *Short History of the English People*, by J. R. Green. Both subsequently found an honoured place in the Groote Schuur Library.

The following is the text of the testamurs obtained by Rhodes on 10th December 1873 and 20th November 1877:—

1873.

Rhodes. Cecilius J. E Coll. Oriel.

Die X Mensis December Anni MDCCCLXXIII Quaestionibus Magistrorum Scholarum in Parviso pro forma respondit.

Ita testamur { (*Sgd.*) W. C. Sidgwick. „ T. L. Papillon. „ T. H. Ward.

1877.

Rhodes. Cecilius J. E Coll. Oriel.

Die 20 Mensis November Anni MDCCCLXXVII prout Statuta requirunt examinatus in RUDIMENTIS RELIGIONIS satisfecit nobis Examinatoribus.

Ita testamur { (*Sgd.*) Edmund S. Houlke. „ Henricus Furneaux. „ Edvardus Moore.

It is perhaps not generally known that Rhodes became a student of the Inner Temple, though he was never formally called to the Bar. The following documents were found among his papers at Groote Schuur :—

INNER TEMPLE,
16*th day of May* 1876.

No. 1748.

Received of C. J. Rhodes, Esq., the sum of Five Guineas on his Admission to the Honourable Society, the said C. J. Rhodes being entitled to attend the Public Lectures of all the Professors appointed by the Council of Legal Education.

(*Sgd.*) H. HALL DARE,
Sub-Treasurer, Inner Temple.

£5, 5s. 0d.

INNER TEMPLE, 16*th May* 1876.

No. 966.

Received of Mr. C. J. Rhodes on admission to the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple the sum of Thirty-five pounds, six shillings and five pence for the use of the said Society.

(*Sgd.*) H. HALL DARE,
Sub-Treasurer.

Stamp Duty .	£25	1	3
Fees . .	10	5	2
	£35	6	5

The following entries are from the books of the Inner Temple :—

Rhodes Cecil John (aged 22) of Oriel College, Oxford, the fourth son of The Rev. Francis William Rhodes of Bishop's Stortford in the County of Hertford.

Admitted 16th May 1876.

Admitted into Commons, Easter, 1876.

(Red Ink) Name withdrawn, 17th December 1889, in accordance with B.T.O. 5th June 1888.

Name restored B.T.O. 20th February 1891. Died 26th March 1902, at Muisenberg, near Cape Town.

It will be seen that by a Bench Table Order his name was withdrawn on 5th June 1888, probably owing to his failing *more suo* to pay his fees. But in 1891 he paid an amount sufficient to meet arrears and also to release his sureties, whereupon his name was restored.

I have ascertained from the Council of Legal Education that he passed no examinations.

In 1877 Rhodes became a Freemason, and retained his interest in Masonry to the close of his life.

Among his papers I find this :—

OXFORD UNIVERSITY CHAPTER, R.T.

Under the Supreme Grand Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite of 33 Degrees.

No. 86. 2nd June, 1877.

Received of Brother C. J. Rhodes the sum of five pounds 10s. as under :—

Perf. A.
Cert. Life Fees. (*Sgd.*) HUGLETT RIACH. 36.
Treasurer.

If all Masons would act up to their vows in the spirit of 'Brother' Rhodes, the world would perhaps be more tolerable than it is.

CHAPTER VIII

ENTRY INTO PUBLIC LIFE (1881)

Sir Henry Barkly—Controversies with President Brand—The Keate award—Annexation of Diamond Fields—New Electorate Divisions—Elected member for Barkly West—Fall of Disraeli—Basuto Disarmament—Transvaal rebellion—Invasion of Natal—Laing's Nek—Ingogo—Majuba—Cape Parliament—Rhodes sworn in—Sir Gordon Sprigg—Rhodes's maiden speech in House—Reminiscences of observers—Basutoland affairs—Rhodes and natives—Hofmeyr—Debates on Basutoland—Aborigines' Protection Society—Sir Thomas Scanlen—Use of Dutch language in Parliament—Rhodes speaks in Kimberley—Speaks again—Sails for England.

DURING the interval that occurred between the departure of Sir Philip Wodehouse for Bombay, and the arrival, on the 31st December 1870, of Sir Henry Barkly from Australia, the administration of the Cape Colony, according to usage, was in the hands of the officer commanding the forces, Lieut.-General Hay. Between the Administrator and President Brand of the Orange Free State a tedious controversy ensued, now long since forgotten. The question at issue was that of their respective rights over the territory of the Griqua chief, Waterboer, recently overrun by diamond diggers of all nationalities. The Dutch claimed it as within the sphere of influence of the old Orange River Sovereignty, which we had abandoned to them. The English title was based on grants and concessions from Waterboer, and on actual occupation. As in the case of most boundary disputes, there was much hard swearing on both sides.

The President despatched a representative to Cape Town to meet the new High Commissioner, but no settlement resulted. Arbitration was declined by Brand who, as a lawyer, considered the case beyond cavil. As, however, other questions of delimitation were awaiting solution, especially with the Transvaal, a Court of Arbitration was appointed, and met at Bloemhof in April 1871. Brand did not attend, but President Pretorius put in an appearance. The Court sat until 19th June, when, upon a final disagreement between the arbitrators, the evidence was submitted to the umpire, Mr. Keate, the Lieut.-Governor of Natal. His award, given on 17th October, was, in substance, against both Republics. As soon as the news reached Cape Town, the High Commissioner issued a series of Proclamations annexing the disputed district and making provision for its government. A strong police force was sent up to the Diamond Fields. The few Free State officials, who were there practically on sufferance, withdrew, under protest, and the territory became a Crown Colony.

Five years later, in an action tried before the High Court, certain claimants to farms held from Waterboer were non-suited, his right to give such grants being held to be not proven. Brand saw his opportunity, and at once took ship to England to re-open his claim. The case might not unfairly have been considered closed, nor did the Free State really want to be saddled with a turbulent community of diggers. Her Majesty's Government, however, very rightly laid no great stress on law and much on equity. The Free State received moderate compensation, and Brand was satisfied. Up to this date the Cape Colony had refused to annex the territory, the majority of colonists being of Dutch extraction, and reluctant, as such, to take what might

seem unfriendly action towards their Free State brethren. The amicable settlement now arrived at in London removed their objections and, by a Cape Act passed in 1877, the territory was absorbed by the colony under the title of the Province of Griqualand West. The Act, however, was only ratified on 15th August 1879, and even then, on grounds stated elsewhere, was not promulgated until 15th October 1880.

The Act created two electoral divisions, Kimberley and Barkly West, with four members for the former and two for the latter. An election at once took place. Cecil Rhodes stood for Barkly West and was duly elected in November, and he held the seat against all comers till his death. The constituency was mainly a Dutch one, but even the shock of the Raid failed to dislodge him.

The year 1880 was an eventful one for South Africa. On 24th March there was a dissolution of the Imperial Parliament, followed by the general election which drove Disraeli from power, replacing him by Gladstone. Then came one of those rapid changes of colonial policy which, rightly or wrongly, more than anything else alienate thoughtful colonists from the motherland. Later on in the year, the Cape Prime Minister endeavoured, without success, to disarm the Basutos, and a long struggle ensued.

A deeper note was struck ere the year closed. On 20th December 1880 a British detachment in the Transvaal under Colonel Anstruther was attacked and destroyed by the Boers. Early in 1881 the Dutch invaded Natal. Engagements followed in rapid succession. On 28th January we were repulsed at Laing's Nek, and only 'drew' the action on 7th February at the Ingogo. The offensive-defensive policy of the

Boers met with marked success. The courage of our men and of regimental officers was never in question, but their inefficiency as marksmen, and the bewildering incompetence of the general commanding, gave us no chance against opponents trained from boyhood to the use of the rifle. Not for the first and not for the last time we underrated the enemy and were punished for our contempt. On 27th February came the crowning disaster of Majuba Hill, a defeat that changed the history of South Africa. Never was a small battle more decisive of results. Then followed an armistice and the retrocession, and, both by friends and foes, the military renown of England was considered, for a while, to have received a fatal blow.

Under the shadow of these deplorable events, the Cape Parliament reassembled in March 1881.

On 7th April Rhodes was sworn in as one of the new members, being introduced by two influential men, Vincent and Orpen. The ambitions of the young digger must have been smarting under these reverses, but he made no sign. To a friend, about this time, he said, placing a large hand on the map of Africa, 'That is my dream, all English.' But in public he held his peace.

The Cape Ministry of the day was essentially opportunist. The Premier, Mr. Gordon Sprigg, was an adroit politician, content to change his colleagues so long as he was left undisturbed in office. Nothing, it was asserted, short of a high explosive, could dislodge him from the Treasury benches. The gospel of expediency was believed by his opponents to be his creed, and his belief in his creed and in himself gave him an appearance of strength. His talents were moderate: he did not mix in society, nor was he, in any sense, a man of culture.

View from the back at Groote Schuur.

But he was a dexterous parliamentarian, and his courage was undeniable. His deportment was 'correct.' He was assiduous in his clerical duties, accessible to visitors and austerely courteous. His private life was irreproachable. But he was already developing signs of the dangerous delusion that he was an indispensable man, whereas, when he was finally driven from power in May 1902, his disappearance scarcely rippled the surface of the political water.

But in 1881 he was a force, and was undoubtedly regarded as a safe man.

On 19th April, the death-day of Lord Beaconsfield, Rhodes—twelve days after entering the House—made his maiden speech, in connection with the non-production of papers relating to the affairs of Basutoland. Though an independent member, he showed himself frankly hostile to the ministerial policy of Basutoland disarmament, the failure of which he accurately predicted. In the course of his speech, he, on several occasions, referred to members of the House by name. The Speaker (Sir David Tennant), a dignified official, expostulated with him in tones of anguish and obtained a graceful apology. A writer of 'Notes in the House' in a local paper, referring to Rhodes, remarked, 'The faults of impetuosity are venial, particularly when the impetuosity proceeds from an enthusiasm for justice.'

One of those sagacious critics, a Parliamentary reporter, says:—

'I remember his first appearance in the House: a fine ruddy Englishman, a jovial-looking young squire. His speech was bluff and untutored in style, with no graces of oratory. A candid friend remarked afterwards that he would be a Parliamentary failure, but though then boyishly nervous and even uncouth in

gesture, he became the most effective speaker in the House, without ever being eloquent.'

This is a correct portrait. Rhodes never became a conventional orator. But, having the root of the matter in him, and never speaking unless he had something to say worth saying, he gradually acquired the ear of the House, and commanded the involuntary attention of both sides. As a speaker, I should compare him to Cromwell, without Cromwell's puritan fervour, for he was rapid, occasionally obscure, with here and there a glimpse of the fire that consumed him. It is noticeable that his very first speech should have been in defence of what he considered native rights. He had acquired a marked liking for natives in Natal and at Kimberley. From this time onward, to his death, he never wavered in his attitude towards them. Without a trace of the uninstructed sentimentality associated with the name of Exeter Hall, he was a champion of the native races, ever seeking to teach them the dignity of labour and the demoralising effects of drink, ever an advocate of educating them up to, but not beyond, their probable needs. He regarded them as grown-up children with the passions of men, and felt towards them as if, in some way, he stood *in loco parentis*. Whether in the compounds of De Beers or in the wild recesses of the Matopo Hills, he trusted them and they trusted him.

The well-known Dr. Donald Macleod described him later on with much truth as the natives' best friend. Years afterwards, when he had fallen from power and was being persistently calumniated, a lady wrote of him :—

'I heard a rumour that he was harsh to coloured labour on the fruit farms and I went there to investigate. "Have you any grievances?" I said. "Look here,"

broke in a coloured woman, "you have come to the wrong place. Why, we all lived in *pondoks* (shanties) before the Baas came. He built us these cottages, charging us only the rent we paid before, on condition we kept them clean. Why, we all love him." And I had to explain hurriedly that I believed her, or she would have assaulted me.'

During his early years in the House, he made many friends, especially among the Dutch, and was fond of visiting them on Saturdays in their picturesque old homesteads in the Paarl and Drakenstein valleys. He was also very popular with the officials of the House, down to the humblest messenger. His unaffected interest in young men gave him great influence over them. The Clerk of the House still remembers him with the deepest admiration. One of the clerks of the Papers writes, 'He used to come through my room by a side door and was always making time for a chat, asking me many personal questions, and urging me to learn shorthand.'

The gallery reporter, already quoted, says, 'He was, at times, boyish to the last, and had a trick of sitting on his hand and laughing boisterously when amused. He could hit hard and delighted in the joy of combat, but he never gave the House in those days an inkling of his great plans. No doubt he feared to alarm both parties.'

The explanation of his reticence was given many years later in his own words, 'When I first entered,' he said, 'on Cape politics, two conspicuous factors weighed with me. One was the constant vacillation of the Home Government, which never knew its own mind about us. Many Englishmen cried out at the surrender after Majuba, but the real humiliation was borne by

those who, relying on the Imperial pledges, had stood firm in the Transvaal for the old flag. That was one factor, but there was another. The "English" party in the Cape Assembly was hopelessly divided and individually incapable. And it had no policy beyond that of securing office. On the other side was a compact body of nominees of what afterwards came to be called the Afrikander Bond, who acted all together at the dictation of Hofmeyr. Hofmeyr was, without doubt, the most capable politician in South Africa, and if he concealed in his breast aspirations for a United South Africa in which Great Britain should have no part or lot, the concealment was very effective. My belief is that he was anxious to maintain the connection, not out of any love for Great Britain, but because the independence of South Africa was at the mercy of whatever power had command of the sea. And you must remember that, though Hofmeyr had no particular affection for the English, his hatred of the Germans amounted to a passion. At the time of which I am speaking there was no danger of British supremacy being threatened by the Transvaal, and still less by the Orange Free State. Again, in those days Hofmeyr was chiefly interested in withstanding Free Trade and upholding Protection on behalf of the Dutch, who were agriculturists and wine-growers. I had a policy of my own, which I never disguised from Hofmeyr. It was to keep open the road to the north, to secure for British South Africa room for expansion, and to leave time and circumstances to bring about an inevitable federation. I therefore struck a bargain with him, by which I undertook to defend the Protective system of Cape Colony, and he pledged himself in the name of the Bond not to throw any obstacles in the way of northern expansion.

He did not like this condition, but I am bound to say he loyally fulfilled it, thereby incurring the hatred of the Transvaal Boers, and to some extent losing the confidence of the extreme members of the Afrikander Bond. That was the whole secret, which was no secret at all, of my understanding with the Afrikander Bond. It suited me on all grounds. I like the Dutch; I like their homely courtesy and their tenacity of purpose, and we have always got on very well together. And so far as I am personally concerned, I am in favour of protecting the agricultural interests of South Africa, and of discouraging the rise of manufactories which would compete with England in the market for her own products.'

On 26th April 1881, Rhodes spoke again and at greater length, but on the same subject, the mismanagement of Basutoland affairs. One of the reporters present says, 'It was the speech of one who *will* speak his mind out fully. But the frankness of his nature may expose him to the designs of the wily.'

Another observer in the House thus described him, He presents a good upstanding appearance, being somewhere about six feet in his shoes. He has a good physique, is a muscular-looking man, well-shaped in every way, has a pleasant intelligent face, and is a very good type of a well-bred English gentleman. He dresses without the least consideration for fashion, and he is always unaffected and unpretending; he is an exceedingly nervous speaker, there is a twitching about his hands, and he has a somewhat ungainly way of turning his body about. That he is a man of extraordinary energy is clear to every one who takes observation of him. He is in a continued state of restlessness, whether sitting in his seat or standing on his legs. He

is never still from the time he enters the House until he leaves it.'

Another of his hearers writes, 'I can well remember the effect he made upon me by his forcefulness and the breadth of his ideas. His foresight speaks for itself, for he outlined the very course which was finally adopted in regard to Basutoland in the Special Session of 1883.'

The speech may be found in the collection made by 'Vindex' (George Bell & Sons, London, 1900). The exact motion before the House, which was moved by Scanlen, was, 'That this House is of opinion, that the conduct of the business of the country by the present Administration, especially in regard to Basutoland and the Transkeian territories, before and after the outbreak of hostilities, has been such as to imperil its best interests.' The debate began on 11th April and lasted, on and off, for over a fortnight. On the 27th April the motion was carried by 37 to 34.

Rhodes took the common-sense view that, in the absence of any law to the contrary, the natives were justified in buying guns at the Diamond Fields and elsewhere, and that it was unfair to disarm them immediately afterwards. He scoffed at the Prime Minister's attempt to coerce the powerful Basuto tribe by means of colonial levies, adding, 'Are we a great and independent nation? No! we are only the population of a third-rate English town, spread over a vast country.'

The allusion is to Sir Gordon Sprigg's *tête montée* in making war without Imperial aid, relying on police and volunteers, and undervaluing, very unjustly, the dash and endurance of the regular forces, then under a cloud owing to their recent defeats.

Rhodes concluded by formulating a distinct policy that all the native races outside ordinary colonial borders

should be subject only to Imperial control to ensure uniformity of treatment. This line had been taken a few months before by the *Daily News*, which had assailed the Cape Government for wantonly attacking the most progressive tribe in South Africa, and with insufficient forces to command success, adding that the colonial policy of accepting responsibility for large masses of natives had broken down, and that Her Majesty's Government could not remain passive spectators of the fiasco.

A deputation from the Aborigines' Protection Society, headed by Fowell Buxton and Froude, had also waited on Lord Kimberley in November 1880, and asserted, with the customary vehemence of peaceful people, that disarmament had been deliberately undertaken to bring on war. The Colonial Secretary, while ignoring this base imputation, gave the Prime Minister a significant warning. Sprigg, it was alleged, had stated in a recent speech that if the colonists vanquished the Basutos without assistance from England, they would exact what terms they pleased. To this, Lord Kimberley replied that he had made no such bargain, and that Her Majesty's Government reserved full liberty of action. The Cape House of Assembly were, on the whole, in harmony for once with English opinion on the subject. Sir Gordon Sprigg had made a false move and had to bear the penalty. Even then he endeavoured to remain in office, notwithstanding his defeat. But further pressure was applied. On the 4th May, Scanlen gave notice that on 10th May he would move 'That this House is of opinion, that under existing circumstances the present administration can no longer carry on the Government with advantage to the country.' This was a decisive blow. The House adjourned until 10th May,

when, on its re-assembly, Sprigg was under the necessity of announcing his resignation. His successor, Mr. T. C. Scanlen (afterwards Sir Thomas Scanlen), was indeed already in office. This Cabinet, the third under Responsible Government, is memorable as having had as a member, though without portfolio, the commanding figure of Jan Hofmeyr, afterwards the Nestor of South African politics. It also brought back to office Mr. J. X. Merriman, who had sat in Sir John Molteno's first Cabinet. As we shall see later on, Rhodes joined the Ministry as Treasurer-General, but only in 1884, and the Ministry being defeated a few weeks afterwards, he left office without producing a Budget.

On 15th June he spoke again, this time on the subject of the Griqualand West boundaries, but his speech has not been reported. The question was destined to be full of interest to him. In a few months it led to war between two rival chiefs, Mankoroane and Massouw, and also to grave complications with Boer freebooters.

On 25th June he took part in an important debate, raised by a Dutch member, to amend the 89th section of the Constitution Ordinance so as to permit the optional use of 'Cape Dutch' in Parliament. To this an amendment was moved by Mr.—later Sir—Thomas Fuller, 'That this House, while willing to give the fullest consideration to the proposed change, is not prepared at this late period of the session, to adopt the same.' Rhodes seconded the amendment, asserting that, so far as the House knew, there was no great desire in the country for the change. The flame of racial patriotism engendered by recent events was, however, too strong to be openly resisted and, though the debate was adjourned and not resumed that year,

the proposal was again made, this time by Mr. Hofmeyr, on 30th March 1882, when the motion was carried, to the great and lasting regret of many men who, while appreciating the Dutch race, long to see South Africa one and undivided. The change, they think, has been wholly inimical to the best interests of the country. English, hitherto the official language, gave way to a patois without a literature and without a future. The concession, they say, has not united but divided the House and the colony. The choice of a Speaker is severely limited by the necessity of his being obliged to understand both languages, and the grotesque spectacle is now seen of one half of the House using a 'taal' of which the other half does not comprehend the meaning.

Persons holding these views assert that the analogy of Canada is not material. The admission to equal rights of the beautiful language of France, the language of diplomacy, was—they consider—justified. The admission of a provincial dialect had no such justification. There was, moreover, they add, no hint of reciprocity in the concession. The use of the English language in the Parliaments of the two Republics was steadily refused. So late as 1899, not many weeks before the great war, the Transvaal State Secretary sent an angry telegram to Sir Alfred Milner, which is an amusing commentary on the sentimental action of the Cape Colony seventeen years before. The message runs as follows:—

'This Government has noticed with surprise the assertion that it had intimated to the British Agent that the new members to be chosen for the South African Republic Volksraad should be allowed to use their own language. If it is thereby intended that this Govern-

ment would have agreed that any other than the language of the country would have been used in the deliberations of the Volksraad, it wishes to deny same in the strongest manner. Leaving aside the fact that it is not competent to introduce any such radical change, they have, up to now, not been able to understand the necessity or even advisability of making a recommendation to the Volksraad in the spirit suggested.'

I have recorded at some length the opinions of those who were against the concession, but such is the attachment felt by all of us for the language of our forefathers that I must also record my own conviction that, even at some public inconvenience, it was a wise and politic step to give way to the profound feeling underlying the Dutch demand.

In August 1881, Parliament having risen, Rhodes spoke at Kimberley at a semi-public dinner, which is thus referred to by Mr. Justice Lawrence :—

'The first time I heard Rhodes make a speech was in 1881. It must have been one of his earliest efforts in that line. A dinner, at the close of the Parliamentary Session, was given by the Mayor of Kimberley to the representatives of Griqualand West. There had been a political crisis, and the Sprigg Ministry of the day, appointed by Sir Bartle Frere in 1878, had been compelled to resign. The disastrous attempt to disarm the Basutos, and the military fiasco which ensued, had left them with no margin of parliamentary support; one of the Ministers had retired and a crisis was inevitable. The newly elected members for Griqualand West had gone down to Cape Town, as was understood, prepared to support the Government; the members for Kimberley did so; but Rhodes,

carrying with him his Barkly colleague, took a different view. He told the Government Whip that he must not reckon on their votes; and the Ministers, thus placed in the minority, had to resign. The attitude of Rhodes was far from popular at Kimberley; when he rose after dinner to make his speech he met with a rather disconcerting reception; but he reasoned out his position and justified his conduct with so much force and spirit that he quite carried the audience with him, and sat down amid repeated cheers.'

Again in the same month, and in the same place, he addressed a public meeting still in defence of his vote in the House on the Griqualand boundary question, and ridiculed Sprigg's effort to pose as a 'saviour of society.' It was a strong speech, and he concluded it amid great applause. The *Cape Argus*, referring to the incident, said, 'Those whose only knowledge of Mr. Rhodes's powers as a speaker is derived from a perusal of the reports of his speeches in the Cape papers, were certainly unprepared for the exhibition of oratorical skill and dialectic power with which they were favoured by the youthful member for Barkly.'

A sterner newspaper critic in Graham's Town took a less eulogistic line. 'Who,' he cried, 'is this young man from Kimberley, come to teach us our business?'

Mr. Merriman had a keener eye for capacity. 'Shortly after my arrival in Cape Town,' says the present Mr. Justice Lawrence, 'I met Mr. Merriman, and when I went to Kimberley he told me to be sure to look out for Cecil Rhodes, then an almost obscure young man, but one who had struck Mr. Merriman as the most interesting individual he had met on the Diamond Fields.'

After attending to urgent private affairs, Rhodes sailed for England to keep his last term at Oxford and take his Degree. Thenceforth, he was destined to pursue an active part in great affairs until his death.

CHAPTER IX

THE CAPE COLONY

Historical—Leading dates—Portuguese and other occupiers—Grant of Constitution—Sir Philip Wodehouse—Sir R. Southey—William Porter—Christoffel Brand—John Brand—Saul Solomon—J. C. Molteno—Struggle for Responsible Government—Obstruction in Parliament—Bill passes—First Cape Ministry—Meeting of Parliament—J. X. Merriman—Lord Carnarvon—Froude's second visit—Confederation intrigues—Struggle between Carnarvon and Molteno—Molteno and Brand in England—Walfisch Bay—Shepstone knighted—John Paterson—Molteno returns to the Cape—Barkly relieved by Frere—Gaika War—Quarrel between Frere and Molteno—Molteno dismissed—Meeting of Parliament—Governor's action upheld—Contrast between Molteno and Rhodes—Aspects of Lord Carnarvon's policy.

No life of Cecil Rhodes would be complete without some brief reference to the history of South Africa as a whole, and especially to that of the Colony with which he came to be so closely concerned, and of the parliamentary institutions at the head of which he was destined to stand.

I make no profession of writing a Colonial history myself, though to any student who will devote adequate research to the subject it will be found singularly interesting as a study of what policy should be followed and what avoided in dealings between a distant Empire and its growing dependencies.

It must suffice to enumerate a few leading dates in the chronicles of the sub-continent and to portray the difficulties met with in the early days of Responsible Government at the Cape. The dates are these :—

1486. Portuguese doubled the Cape, landed, but made no settlement.

1620. Captain Shillinge hoisted the British flag on the shores of Table Bay, but was disavowed by James I.
1652. Dutch, under Van Riebeeck, established a 'Fort and garden' at the Cape.
1781. French occupy the Cape nominally for the Batavian Republic.
1795. British occupy the Cape.
1802. Cape restored to the Dutch.
1806. British reoccupy the Cape.
1823. Captain Owen, R.N., hoists the British flag at Delagoa Bay.
1839. Russia makes great preparations to occupy the Cape as a basis for the conquest of India.
Cape Governor occupies Natal.
1848. Orange Free State annexed.
1852. Transvaal Republic recognised.
1854. Retrocession of the Orange Free State.
Constitution granted to the Cape.
1857. Kruger raids the Orange Free State.
1858. O. F. State Volksraad petition for re-annexation. Offer declined.
1862. Proposal to annex British Kaffraria rejected by the House of Assembly.
1864. To allay the cry for separation Sir Philip Wodehouse summons Parliament to meet at Grahamstown in the Eastern Province.
British Kaffraria annexed, but by a narrow majority of the House, and against the wishes of the white inhabitants.
1867. Sir John Molteno introduces a Bill granting Responsible Government, but owing to the Governor's opposition it is defeated.
The Governor then introduced a Bill creating a single Chamber of 21 members, with alternative sessions in the two Provinces.
Molteno opposed, and the measure was withdrawn.
Cape Parliament urges on H.M. Government the annexation of what is now German S.-W. Africa. Recommendation ignored.
1868. Basutoland annexed. Sir John Barrow, Under-Secre-

tary to the Colonies, writing to Southey describing his new chief (Carnarvon), adds, 'This is the twenty-third change since I have been in this office.'

1870. The Governor re-introduced his single Chamber Bill, with 32 elected and 4 nominated members. Rejected by 34 to 26 votes.
1871. Griqualand West made a Crown Colony.
1872. Responsible Government granted to the Cape.
1877. Transvaal Republic annexed.
1881. Retrocession of the Transvaal.
1896. Jameson Raid.
1899. War between Great Britain and the two Boer States.
1902. 31st May. Peace of Vereeniging. Both Republics annexed.
1910. 31st May. British South Africa Act became law and union effected.

It will be seen from this brief summary that the Portuguese were the discoverers of the Cape, but not its occupiers: that the English then took temporary possession, and that subsequently the Dutch came, and came to stay. For a time the French of the Revolution occupied. Finally Great Britain occupied, retroceded, and again occupied. The history of the sub-continent and its various States is thus one long record of infirmity of purpose and reversals of policy. We now hold the country by the triple bond of conquest, cession and purchase, but, fortunately, also by that incomparably stronger bond expressed by the mutual consent of the governed. After many struggles and much loss of life, Boer and Briton have coalesced and adopted the Rhodes formula of equal rights under the British flag.

Until 1854 the government of the Cape Colony had been autocratic, but in that year, by the promulgation of a formal Constitution, which had been drafted under Letters Patent 3rd April 1852, and confirmed, with

amendments, by the Queen on 11th March 1853, a Council and Assembly were created, the members of which were freely elected by the people. Inasmuch, however, as the Executive remained independent of, and irremovable by, the Houses, the arrangement failed to give satisfaction.

As illustrating the lofty manner in which the public representatives were treated, the fact may be cited that so late as 1864, on the suggestion of the Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act annexing British Kaffraria to the Colony, and fixing the number of its Parliamentary representatives, without the Cape Legislature being in any way consulted. In the course of the ensuing session a vote of censure on the Governor was unanimously passed, but haughtily ignored. Nevertheless, even in those early days, the Cape Parliament contained several men who subsequently made their mark on the history of South Africa.

Mr. — afterwards Sir Richard — Southey, Colonial Secretary and one of the Executive, though not in the House, had a right to sit and speak there, but not to vote. His official abilities were remarkable, and for years he virtually administered the affairs of the Colony. His colleague, William Porter, the Attorney-General, was much more than an official, for he was an orator and a statesman, an upright and distinguished guardian of Colonial interests. His independence of character was unpalatable to the Governor, by whom, in 1866, his services were dispensed with. He subsequently entered the House of Assembly where, from 1869 to 1873, he was a commanding and much-respected figure.

The Speaker of the House, Christoffel Brand, was

father to a more famous son, Sir John Brand, also in the Assembly and afterwards a revered President of the Orange Free State.

Saul Solomon, handicapped by physical infirmity, was another early representative who, by his eloquence, integrity, and devotion to native interests, held a high place in the estimation of the country.

But the most conspicuous protagonist of full parliamentary government was Mr. J. C. Molteno, of foreign ancestry but born in England, who now, in and out of season, thundered for the right of colonists to manage their own affairs. His biographer, with filial partiality, claims indeed that 'but for him and his like Great Britain would have lost South Africa, for they vindicated British liberty and the principle of self-government, and thus made freedom and progress possible, and saved the Colony from the errors of Downing Street.'

In 1870 Wodehouse was replaced by a more sympathetic Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, and the following year Molteno moved a resolution in favour of Responsible Government. The case for the opposition was stated by Mr. J. X. Merriman, who vehemently denounced the Colony as unfit to control its own affairs. Thirty years later he stood up with equal vehemence to argue against the suspension of the Constitution, technically forfeited by acts of rebellion.

Molteno's motion was carried by a majority of five in a House of fifty-seven. A bill was at once brought in and passed by the Assembly by the same majority, but thrown out by three votes in the Legislative Council. For the remainder of the session Molteno assiduously obstructed business. Thus, when a measure for the annexation of Griqualand West was brought forward,

he announced that he would allow nothing of the kind to be done till the Colony received Responsible Government. His perseverance prevailed. When Parliament again met on 25th April 1872, the Bill for the establishment of Responsible Government was re-introduced by the Attorney-General, passed through the Lower House by an increased majority of ten, and through the Council by a majority of one.

The Executive consisting of Southey, Davidson, Cole, and Graham, published a formal Minute to the effect that the Colony was wholly unfit for Responsible Government, and the Attorney-General (Griffiths) concurred, but Lord Ripon had already declared (17th October 1870) that the colonists must decide for themselves.

When, however, the Executive reintroduced the measure for the incorporation of Griqualand West (the Diamond Fields), Molteno still objected, but now on the ground that it would be an unfriendly act towards the Orange Free State until all boundary disputes had been adjusted. Mr. Merriman, hitherto a strenuous advocate for the annexation, took the same line and the Bill was again withdrawn. Southey had previously (20th January 1871) presented a Minute on the subject of the pretensions of the Orange Free State to the Diamond Fields, and even a level-headed man like Sir Henry Barkly declared that it absolutely destroyed the claim of President Brand.

On 1st December 1872, the first Ministry was gazetted, Molteno being Prime Minister, Southey, Porter, and Solomon all having declined to be associated with the new regime. Mr. Merriman, in spite of his recent support of Molteno, was not at the outset included in the Cabinet.

The first Parliament under Responsible Government met on 28th April 1873, when Molteno introduced a Constitution Amendment Bill, designed to improve the personnel of the Upper House. With the joyous irresponsibility of a free-lance, Mr. Merriman opposed the Bill, but it passed the Assembly by nearly a two-thirds majority. In the Council, which was mainly interested, there was a tie, and the President gave his casting vote against the measure to keep the matter open. Parliament soon afterwards adjourned, and in his closing speech Governor Barkly announced that there would be a dissolution on the issue.

The new Parliament met on 27th May 1874, and the Bill was reintroduced—this time in the Council itself, by which body it was passed, the voting being 13 to 8. Upon reaching the Assembly, the measure was opposed by Mr. Merriman, who carried a vital amendment by a majority of one. Molteno at once adjourned the House to consider his position, much to the alarm of members, many of whom had voted against the Government out of sheer inexperience of the party system. Upon its reassembly the House reintroduced the deleted clause by 36 to 16, in spite of Mr. Merriman, who found a strange ally in Mr. Gordon Sprigg.

During the year now under review Lord Carnarvon had become Secretary for State for the Colonies, and his forward policy, which was much in advance of local public opinion, resulted in serious unrest and ultimate disaster. With the best of intentions, he unduly forced the pace, endeavouring to give South Africa not what it wanted, but what he considered it ought to want. As a consequence, he seemed to many onlookers to be endeavouring to circumscribe the bounds

of Colonial freedom, forgetting that a world-wide congeries of States cannot be administered from a common centre without extensive devolution of functions.

Lord Carnarvon also intervened in the affairs of Natal with such precipitancy that he ultimately found himself under the necessity of suspending the Constitution for five years. Another and a greater blunder was his strange appointment of an unofficial representative in the person of that romantic historian, and disbeliever in democracy, Mr. J. A. Froude. Apart from the irregularity of procedure, the choice of an agent was singularly unfortunate. Froude was a master of the English tongue, but a slave to eloquent phrases, and possessing every sense but common-sense. He paid two visits to South Africa, one towards the close of 1874, the other in June 1875.

On the latter occasion he assumed the powers of a plenipotentiary and set the whole of the Cape Colony in a blaze. Under his advice Carnarvon resolved to confederate South Africa in his own way and regardless of the views of individual States. He accordingly addressed a Despatch to the High Commissioner, requiring him to summon a Conference for that purpose. In this extraordinary document he went so far as to designate and even appoint the Cape delegates, one of whom was, of course, Molteno, but the other, Paterson, Molteno's chief opponent. The Secretary of State also appointed two delegates for the unimportant Crown colony of Griqualand West, the same number as for the Cape. Sir Arthur Cunynghame, the Commander of the Forces, and Mr. Froude were to be Imperial representatives, and the former was to preside. The Despatch was laid upon the table of the House on

9th June 1875, and, on the motion of a private member, was read aloud by the Clerk of the House. Seldom, perhaps, has an Imperial State paper caused more amusement. The House rocked with unrestrained laughter, and when Molteno's temperate Minute in reply was also read, its tenor, on the motion of an opponent, was confirmed by a substantial majority.

Official pressure, however, was persisted in, though Merriman, whose admission to the Cabinet came in September 1875, made great fun over Froude's naked bids for Dutch Colonial support. The latter, indeed, went so far as to express his admiration of the Republican system of native apprenticeship—a curious sentiment from an Imperial envoy, accredited by a Government which had strictly enforced the provisions of the Sand River Convention, wherein such apprenticeship was prohibited as slavery in disguise.

For the three months ending in October 1875, the High Commissioner had to exercise the whole weight of his influence to prevent Molteno's resignation. Froude pressed for a special session to rediscuss Federation. It was a quaint, unedifying spectacle—a duel between the Secretary of State and his envoy on one side, and the Governor and his Prime Minister on the other side. Molteno did not flinch. He accepted the challenge, convened Parliament in December, and moved, 'That in the opinion of this House, the agitation by the Imperial Government in opposition to the Colonial Government, on the subject of the Conference, is unconstitutional and improper.'

During the debate that ensued, the motion was softened by altering 'by' into 'in the name of' so as to affix the responsibility directly on Froude, but before the discussion ended a Despatch arrived from Carnarvon

abandoning his proposals. He had not changed his policy, but his method of enforcing it. Early in 1876 he sent out another Despatch, summoning a Confederation Conference in London. The House made short work of it and resolved, without a Division, to decline to attend. In spite of this rebuff, the Secretary of State invited Molteno and Brand to visit England and confer with him over the annexation of Griqualand West, with due regard to the susceptibilities of the Orange Free State. Molteno accepted the invitation and sailed for England in July 1876, but was, on arrival, surprised to find that Brand had been already 'squared' by the payment of £90,000, and Griqualand West saddled with the debt.

Naturally chagrined that Carnarvon had not had the courtesy to await the advice he had solicited, Molteno withdrew his offer to incorporate the province with the Cape Colony. Carnarvon retaliated by declining to confirm the Colonial Act, annexing Walfisch Bay and its Hinterland, and under this pressure Molteno gave way and agreed to accept Griqualand West and its liabilities. His promise was kept and his action confirmed during the session of 1877.

Carnarvon was not so scrupulous in performing his portion of the bargain. Palgrave, the Cape Commissioner, had arranged terms with the Damaras and other tribes on the West Coast up to the Portuguese border on the Cunene River. The Act of Annexation had been duly passed. There remained only the formality of the issue of Letters Patent, but these were delayed in order to force the Cape into the Conference. Molteno, who remained in power until 6th February 1878, brought up the question in the Governor's speech both at the opening and closing of Parliament, but

Carnarvon was inexorable and, as shown elsewhere, the territory eventually fell into the hands of Germany.

Meanwhile the Conference met in London in August, 1876, to discuss the fate of South Africa. Carnarvon himself presided, with Sir Garnet Wolseley as Vice-President, Shepstone for Natal and Froude for Griqualand West. These were mere Colonial Office appointments, and the inhabitants of Griqualand West formally repudiated Froude.[1]

Shepstone was ostentatiously knighted, perhaps as a hint to Molteno to be submissive, but the latter was bound by the vote of the House and declined to attend. Brand put in an appearance only to say that he had no authority to discuss Confederation.

On the 5th October Molteno sailed for the Cape, full of anxiety over rumours that had reached him concerning an approaching 'cession' of the Transvaal. In his absence, Paterson, a member of the Cape Opposition, was summoned to attend, but naturally this gathering of 'tied' officials possessed no weight or authority. On 26th October Paterson headed what was called a Cape Deputation to Carnarvon, praising his policy, and especially in regard to Shepstone's mission—a curious slip, for Shepstone had started with secret instructions. To the Deputation, Carnarvon gave information not vouchsafed to Molteno, viz.: that he was drafting a Permissive Confederation Bill for submission to the Imperial Parliament. He did not add, as he might have done, that he was already in correspondence with a distinguished public servant through

[1] Froude had returned from the Cape, a baffled man, in December 1875. On arrival home he had written to a friend (Shirley's *Table Talk*, p. 153): 'If anybody had told me two years ago that I should be leading an agitation within Cape Colony, I should have thought my informant delirious. The Ministers have the appearance of victory, but we have the substance.'

whose tact, ability and high character he still hoped to impose his will upon a reluctant Colony and expedite that Confederation of conflicting interests, desirable in itself, but for which the time had clearly not arrived.

In pursuance of this prancing policy Sir Henry Barkly, who saw the dangers involved in premature confederation, was relieved of his functions at the close of his first term of office, and retired without any mark of Royal favour, a discreditable incident in the case of so eminently safe and high-minded a public servant.

Looking around him for a suitable successor, Lord Carnarvon selected Sir Bartle Frere, a singularly gifted and unselfish man, of emotional temperament, yet masterful and autocratic where he deemed it good for the public service to be so. Frere had seen ten years' service in India and given ample proof there that he was unafraid of accepting responsibility. On his return to England, he sat on the Army Organisation Committee (1867) and on the Committee to investigate Military Expenditure in India (1869). As Special Commissioner to East Africa in 1872 he abolished slavery at Zanzibar without, or, perhaps, regardless of, official instructions. In 1875 he accompanied the Prince of Wales to India, for which post, as he was a perfect mirror of modern knighthood, he was peculiarly well suited. To Frere, in an evil hour, Carnarvon, in 1876, offered the Cape Governorship, to be vacant, he remarked, 'on the 31st December next.'

Writing on 13th October 1876, the Secretary of State informed him as follows :—

'The war between the Transvaal Government and the natives has rapidly ripened all South African policy. It brings us nearer to the object and end for which I have now for two years been steadily labouring

—the Union of the South African Colonies and States. I am indeed now considering the details of a Bill for their Confederation, which I desire to introduce next session, and I propose to press, *by all means in my power*, my Confederation policy on South Africa. I do not estimate the time required for the work of consolidating the Confederated States at more than two years.'

Lord Carnarvon—the blind leading the blind—went on to count unhatched chickens by offering him the post of Governor-General of the Confederation *in nubibus*. Frere had few ambitions of his own, but he was pre-eminently a great public servant, and loyal to his chiefs for the time being. Like the Duke of Wellington before him, he held as the governing factor of his life that the Queen's Government must be carried on. In reply to Carnarvon (18th October 1876) he said, 'There are few things which I should personally like better than to be associated in any way with such a great policy as yours in South Africa, entering, as I do, into the Imperial importance of your masterly scheme.'

On 31st March 1877 Frere landed in Cape Town from the *Balmoral Castle*, and assumed his duties as Governor of the Cape. In the following month Carnarvon introduced his measure into the House of Lords. It was a monstrosity in its way and proposed to attach Natal to the Cape, to take away the latter's new constitutional liberties as a preliminary to their restoration to a Confederation, and generally to throw all the states in South Africa into the melting-pot, with a view to re-mint them with an Imperial hall-mark. He had already received Frere's cable message of 17th April that Shepstone had annexed the Transvaal on the twelfth idem.

It was necessary, however, for the success of his

policy that Molteno should be got rid of, and an opportunity soon occurred or was created. There was a Gaika and Goaleka war on the Cape frontier. The Governor proceeded there, remaining away some months, and attaching to his *entourage* Mr. Merriman and another Colonial Minister, Mr. Brownlee, thus isolating the Prime Minister in Cape Town. Misunderstandings were thus bound to arise, and Molteno, a stickler for constitutional etiquette, naturally resented the holding of Cabinet Councils at which he was not present. The Governor, on 31st December 1877, offered him a knighthood, apparently as a solatium for his wounded feelings, but the honour was declined, and he was dismissed on 6th February 1878, though he had suffered no Parliamentary defeat.

The Houses met on 18th May, with Sprigg as the new Premier. Frere had taken a very exceptional step only to be justified by success. An adverse vote in Parliament would have necessitated his own retirement and discredited Carnarvon. Many efforts, hospitable and otherwise, were, therefore, taken to conciliate Members of the Lower House. The struggle raged round the question which had been chosen to bring about the fall of Molteno, viz.: Whether the Government could insist on the Colonial forces being placed under the command of an Imperial officer. There was undoubtedly something to be said on both sides. Merriman moved three fiery Resolutions, two of which were ruled by the Speaker to be out of order. The third ran as follows :—I quote from the Votes and Proceedings 6th June, 1878 :—

'Mr. Speaker stated that, when the debate was adjourned yesterday, the following question was before the House, viz. : "(1) That, in the opinion of this House, the control over the

Colonial Forces is vested in His Excellency the Governor only acting under the advice of Ministers; (2) That it is not within the Constitutional functions of His Excellency the Governor to insist on the control and supply of the Colonial Forces being placed under the Military Authorities, except with the consent of Ministers; (3) That the assumption of the command of Colonial Forces by Sir A. Cunynghame in January last, contrary to the advice of Ministers, was not justified or advisable under the existing circumstances."

'Upon which the following Amendment was moved by Mr. Maasdorp, viz.: "That the House, having before it the papers connected with the late change of Ministry, does not see that the doctrine that the Governor controls the Colonial Forces under the advice of his Ministry has been called in question by the Governor, but, on the contrary, is strongly affirmed; and the House is of opinion that, under all the circumstances of the case, the removal from office of the late Ministry was unavoidable."

'And Mr. Moore moved as a further Amendment: "That, in the opinion of this House, the dismissal of the late Ministry under the circumstances submitted by the Government has not been justified."

'Debate resumed.

'After debate.

'Mr. Speaker proceeded to put the question: That all the words after "That" in the original motion stand part of the question.

'Upon which the House divided:—

'AYES—22.	NOES—37.

'The original motion proposed by Mr. Merriman was accordingly negatived.

'Mr. Speaker then put the question: That all the words after "That" in the Amendment proposed by Mr. Maasdorp stand part of the question.

'Upon which the House divided:—

'AYES—37.	Noes—22.

'The question was accordingly affirmed, and the last amendment proposed by Mr. Moore dropped.

'Mr. Speaker then read the Amendment moved by Mr. Maasdorp, which was put as a Substantive Motion and agreed to.'

Molteno never returned to power. At the close of the year 1878 he retired from Parliament, and though on Frere's recall in 1880 he re-entered the House and, on Sprigg's downfall, accepted a subordinate position in the Scanlen Administration, he soon retired. Until 1886 he resided in England, but the 'call of the blood' or the glamour of the southern skies, or that vague presentiment of impending dissolution which gives to many men a silent warning, drew him back to South Africa, for which he had fought a good fight in the field and in Council, and he died in his old home in September of that year—a strenuous politician, rough in his manners, but a practical statesman of high aims and unblemished character. The Cape Parliament, in the course of its career, has committed many errors, but none equal perhaps to that of abandoning its first Prime Minister, who risked everything in its defence.

He had formed great irrigation schemes which, as the complement to the railway policy he also advocated, might have changed the face of the country, but the South African rivers still roll in flood to the ocean and the land is still periodically parched by drought. His successor, instead of stimulating internal development, at once passed what he humorously termed a Peace Preservation Act, which led to immediate war with the Basutos. According to official returns the cost of the warlike operations of the Colony, mainly in Basutoland, amounted to £4,869,735. Rhodes entered the Scanlen Ministry soon after Molteno left it, and to him it fell, in part, to endeavour to settle the feuds left by the Basuto campaign.

I have drawn the career of Molteno in some detail, because the resemblances and contrasts between him and Rhodes are numerous and striking. Both men were for a time *personæ gratæ* with the Dutch. Both were for peace and industrial progress. Rhodes was incomparably the greater man, but he made greater mistakes. Rhodes possessed a clearer insight and overlooked a wider horizon, but he fell in a worse cause. Molteno was dismissed because he stood against all comers for what he honestly deemed to be Colonial liberties and constitutional rights. Rhodes was hurled from power because he endeavoured to coerce the Transvaal by methods the reverse of constitutional. The first Prime Minister of the Cape, though tempted of the devil, would never have countenanced, directly or indirectly, the inroad into the Transvaal, which, among all the armed incursions by Boers and British, will always be known as 'The Raid.' But neither would he ever have added a great and fertile province to the British Empire. Molteno always denied, and Rhodes always admitted, the right of the interior states to a share of the Customs duties collected at the ports, but one of Rhodes's last acts was to sign a petition for a suspension of that Constitution in which Molteno took paternal pride. Both of them now lie buried in South African graves, and when our wrong perspective, our lack of the sense of proportion, our petty aims and misconceptions are buried with them, our descendants will be prepared, I submit, to grant that they were both worthy sons of the country they loved.

On the Carnarvon policy, hear Martineau (*Life of Frere*, vol. ii. p. 169) :—

'Most of the mistakes in our government of South Africa have been caused by the fatal tendency to try and govern it

from England. There, as elsewhere, the English Government has too often failed to place due confidence in its own representatives. It has listened to one-sided evidence and doctrinaire views, and has overruled or recalled Governors and High Commissioners, men of its own choice who had every qualification for forming a just judgment on the scene of action, where alone a just judgment could be formed. The consequence has been a weak and vacillating policy . . . which has alienated loyal men both white and black, and continues to this day to be the abiding cause of confusion, strife and bloodshed.'

Hear the same writer on the Conference policy of the Secretary of State. He describes it as

'the old Colonial Office mistake of sending out, cut and dried, all the details of the scheme, and nominating, or at least suggesting, the members who were to take part in the Conference, instead of offering an outline and leaving the details to be filled in on the spot. He had to deal with the susceptibilities of a Colony which had just received responsible government and was morbidly sensitive to any treatment which bore the least appearance of dictation. The House of Assembly resented the Despatch . . . and passed a Resolution that any movement in the direction of Confederation should originate in South Africa and not in England.'

This, in a nutshell, is a crushing condemnation of the Carnarvon policy. He tried to govern South Africa by voluminous despatches from England. He failed to trust his well-tried and entirely reliable representative, Sir H. Barkly: he listened to the 'opposition' evidence of Paterson, and to the impulsive utterances of Froude: he despatched to the Cape a great Indian official unversed in the parliamentary system: he ignored the Colonial Prime Minister, declining even to give him his title: he insisted on the Colonies and States conferring when they were unprepared to confer: he suspended the constitution of Natal and tried to

abrogate that of the Cape: and, finally, he annexed the Transvaal, which the logic of events was patently about to give to us of its own accord, and he resigned his high office on very inadequate grounds, and left his representatives to their fate.

It would be difficult to beat this untoward record of a well-meaning and honourable man.

CHAPTER X

THE TRANSVAAL (1881)

Royal Commission—Convention of Pretoria—Retrocession—Financial safeguards—Omission of franchise clause—Transvaal hails the Suzerain—Effort to confederate the two Republics—Brand's refusal—Kruger intrigues—Rising distrust—War ahead.

OUR disastrous defeat at Majuba Hill on 27th February, 1881, was followed by an armistice, leading up to the much controverted decision to abandon the Transvaal. A Royal Commission was at once appointed to carry out the terms of retrocession. The document bears date the 5th April, and the Commissioners were Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner; Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony; and Sir Evelyn Wood, Commander of the Forces and temporary Governor of the Transvaal. President Brand of the Orange Free State attended the sittings as a trusted friend of all parties, and his moderating influence undoubtedly had the effect of minimising the many difficulties that occurred.

The whole country was at boiling-point. The Boers were naturally jubilant at their victory. The British settlers, who had invested their all in the new Colony, and subsequently risked their lives in its defence, were, as naturally, exasperated in the highest degree at what they deemed a shameful surrender. The shock to their loyalty was never quite forgotten or forgiven. But the Commission did not meet to discuss the expediency of the retrocession, but to carry it out. On the whole,

they performed a thankless task with tact and discretion. The Convention was signed at Pretoria on the 3rd August.

I was present at several sittings of the Commission to show cause why monies advanced in the territory on the faith of British occupation should not be imperilled by the abandonment of our sovereignty. The precaution was very necessary. The Commissioners had not realised the importance of the point, and were, at first, disposed to leave financial interests to the care of the new Government. But those who had made advances in British gold were not prepared to run the risk, amounting to a certainty, of being repaid in a depreciated paper currency. To meet the case, the Commission ultimately accepted and inserted Clause XXX., which I drafted for them, and which reads: 'All debts, contracted since the annexation, will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted.' The safeguard, though simple, was complete.

It is a pity no similar precaution was taken to safeguard the political rights of British settlers who had acquired property, and a domicile, in the State during our occupation. Had this been done, the grievances of the Uitlanders might never have arisen. No opposition to such a clause would have been experienced, as neither side had any reason to anticipate a subsequent influx of aliens upon the discovery of payable gold. No preferential treatment of burghers had hitherto prevailed, and none was apparently expected. It is true that Clause XII. of the Convention protects 'All persons holding property in the said State on 8th day of August 1881' to the extent of laying it down that 'they will *continue* to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the Annexation.'

Now the old Transvaal franchise was one of the rights associated with the enjoyment of property. But the protective clause was rendered nugatory by its limitation to the period since the Annexation. No Volksraad had been convened since the Annexation, and no franchise rights had therefore been acquired or exercised. It has been argued that the equality of property rights provided for, necessarily included equality of franchise, but the point is doubtful, and the fact remains that the omission of a clear definition led to years of strife, to gross oppression, to intervention by the Suzerain and, finally, to a lamentable war and to re-annexation. The analogous clauses in the Treaty between the Republic and Germany, signed at Berlin on the 22nd January 1885, are much more elaborately and stringently phrased.

The Convention, while failing to give adequate protection to British subjects, was received by the Boers with no enthusiasm. At first a pretence of loyalty was maintained. On the Queen's birthday, which occurred while the Commission was on its way up, the following address was presented to Sir Evelyn Wood :—

'His Excellency Sir Evelyn Wood, etc.,—May it please your Excellency—We, the undersigned representatives of the people of the Transvaal, herewith beg to tender our most hearty congratulations to your Excellency, as the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, on this anniversary of Her Majesty's birthday.

'A short time ago we had occasion publicly to state that our respect for Her Majesty the Queen of England, for the Government of Her Majesty, and for the British Nation, had never been greater than now that we are enabled by the peace agreement to produce proof of England's noble and magnanimous love of right and justice, and we beg now to reiterate those

sentiments, and to add that we are convinced that the relations which will for the future exist between the Crown of England and the people of the Transvaal will be the best guarantee of a sincere and everlasting peace.

'We are thankful that your Excellency has afforded us an opportunity of expressing our sincere desire to maintain the most friendly relations with Her Majesty's Government.

'We respectfully request that your Excellency may be pleased to convey to Her Majesty our deepest respect, and the assurance that our prayers are that the Almighty God may shower His blessings upon Her Majesty for many years, for the welfare and prosperity of Great Britain, and the whole of South Africa, and more especially of the Transvaal, who hails and respects Her Majesty as her future Suzerain. We have the honour to be your Excellency's most obedient servants,

(*Signed*)

'S. J. P. KRUGER, *Vice-President*,
M. W. PRETORIUS, *Member of Triumvirate*,
J. JOUBERT, S.C.,
ED. J. JORISSEN,
T. DE VILLIERS,
G. H. BUSKES.

'*May* 24, 1881.'

Kruger's real sentiments were probably more accurately reflected in his appeal to President Brand earlier in the year when, passionately pleading for the armed assistance of the Orange Free State, he wrote from Heidelberg, 'Freedom shall rise in South Africa as the sun from the morning clouds, as freedom rose in the United States of America. Then shall it be from Zambesi to Simon's Bay, Africa for the Afrikanders!'

This pointed reference to the territory lying between the Limpopo and the Zambesi—which we now know as Southern Rhodesia—was probably not lost upon Rhodes, who was already forming in his mind the policy of

Northern expansion, and who had two years previously made the extraordinary will allotting the whole continent of Africa to the British Empire.

President Brand was too enlightened a statesman to join, on light grounds, in a struggle with the paramount power. His little State was self-contained and well governed, free from external debt and only anxious to be left alone. The entreaties of Kruger fell on deaf ears. During Brand's lifetime, no formal alliance was ever concluded with the Transvaal. The independence of his pastoral Republic was jealously guarded. He was never slack to cross swords diplomatically with a High Commissioner, and he frequently had the better of the argument. But fight England he would not. He knew that his State occupied in Africa the position of Switzerland in Europe, and that he could only hope to exist in the midst of more powerful neighbours by the exercise of rigid neutrality. His successors were less wise. They took a hand in the game and lost their independence, outwardly at all events, though in reality they have found it again within the boundaries of the British Empire. The good old President never imperilled what he believed to be a sacred trust.

A day or two after the conclusion of the Convention, I was dining with Brand at his modest lodgings in Pretoria, and he confidentially informed me that overtures had already been made to him to federate the two Republics. The bait held out to him was his election as President of the Federation. To an ambitious man the prospect would have been alluring. But Brand was a patriot and not merely a politician, and he declined the proposals without hesitation. 'We are very well as we are,' he said; 'we may be poor, but we are safe from attack. We are surrounded on three sides by

British power. You have deprived us of the Diamond Fields on one side and of our reversionary rights to Basutoland on the other, but at least we are free. The Transvaal is only a protected state, and it has ambitions which I do not share. I must keep my installation oath, and not meddle with matters which do not concern me.'

From that day onward until his flight from Pretoria consequent on the expected arrival of Lord Roberts, the President of the Transvaal never ceased to struggle for an extension of his borders. Checked by the military expedition of Warren and by the civil genius of Rhodes, repressed by the resolute attitude of High Commissioners like Robinson and Loch, and with an enemy in his own household, a thorn in the flesh, the Uitlander population in Johannesburg, whom he would not conciliate and could not crush, the old President clung tenaciously to his life's desire of more territory and a seaport.

In March 1890, shortly before Rhodes became Prime Minister, Kruger met the High Commissioner at Bignaut's Pont and heard the unpleasing declaration that Swaziland could not be his. He had indeed to sign a draft Convention re-affirming the independence of that State, and though his Executive Council declined, under his advice, to confirm the document, they had to give way. Police were moved up, and Hofmeyr himself visited Pretoria to point out that failure to ratify the Convention meant war. Under this pressure the Convention was signed on the 2nd August. It was on this occasion that Kruger, in the presence of several witnesses, allowed his exasperation to cloud his perception of Hofmeyr's eminent services. 'You are a traitor,' he roared, 'a traitor to the Afrikander cause!'

I have referred thus briefly to Transvaal affairs because, when Rhodes entered Parliament, they already formed the subject of wide discussion, and Dutch ideals, fomented both by the annexation of that territory and by its subsequent retrocession, began to take definite shape. The sparsely populated spaces of South Africa, vast as they are, were insufficient to permit the Monarchical and Republican principles to expand and flourish side by side. There was an absence of goodwill and mutual trust, fatal to the growth of good relations. From henceforward till the Raid and the War, armed neutrality was the utmost that could be hoped for. Kruger was already a strong silent man, and his younger antagonist was shaping in the same direction. Both made naked avowal of the doctrine 'My country, right or wrong!' It was a conflict of principles. History will judge impartially both the causes and the men, awarding, may be, praise and blame to both; but here and now it is only possible to say, with thankfulness and pride, that after a struggle not dishonourable to either race, both have settled down in amity to work out, under one flag and one common freedom, the destinies of the country as one organic whole, possessing the fullest liberty attainable under the system of responsible self-government.

CHAPTER XI

BASUTOLAND (1882)

Historical Survey—Moshesh—Sir George Cathcart—Struggle with Orange Free State—Annexation by Great Britain—Cession to Cape Colony—Disarmament policy—War—General Gordon—Scanlen Prime Minister—Rhodes as Compensation Commissioner—J. W. Sauer—Basuto Pitso—Letsie—Masupha—Gordon resigns—Rhodes makes his second Will—Compensation Committee Report—Rhodes protests—Rhodes and Scanlen correspond—Reannexation of Basutoland to Great Britain—Sir Marshal Clarke—Sir Godfrey Lagden.

BASUTOLAND was a burning question in Cape politics when Rhodes entered the House of Assembly. His early speeches were almost confined to the subject, as we have already seen, and his first public appointment was in connection with the territory. It is a mountainous district, with an average altitude of 6000 feet, but possessing peaks towering 9000 feet above the sea. Its boundaries are the River Caledon, and the Maluti and Drakensberg mountains. Its neighbours in those days were the Cape and Natal Colonies, and the Orange Free State. It nowhere touches the Transvaal borders. It is sparsely wooded and possesses few charms for the sportsman. But it was a grain-growing and horse-breeding country, an Alsatia for broken tribes and a Naboth's vineyard to the Dutch. It will always be associated with the name of Moshesh. That remarkable ruler was originally a petty chief, of no great standing in the estimation of those of his own blood. But he rallied men from many tribes, formed them into a nation, and governed

them with conspicuous success for fifty-five years, from the year of Waterloo to the year of Sedan. His natural instincts were not warlike. He was not a Dingaan or a Mosilikatsi, yet he, of all the native chiefs, was the only one who, in the recesses of his mountain fastnesses, defied all comers and defeated with great slaughter the assault of the formidable Zulu power. He was a diplomatist, every inch of him, wary, ingenious and resourceful to a degree. It fell to his lot, during a long career, to be pitted against Presidents, Governors, and High Commissioners, and in the delicate science of negotiation he proved himself equal to them all. In 1833, he received, with tolerance, the Paris Evangelical Society, and its missionaries are still labouring with assiduity in his country at the present day. In 1845, Sir Peregrine Maitland, then Governor of the Cape, asserted authority over the Territory, but it was not until 1848 that the Queen's sovereignty was formally proclaimed. Our new subjects were somewhat unruly. In 1857, a large British force under Sir George Cathcart came into collision with the tribe and met with a repulse. The astute and sagacious chief immediately built a bridge of gold for the flying foe. At a midnight council of war, held on the almost inaccessible summit of Thaba Bosigo, he dictated a politic despatch to the defeated general: 'I entreat peace from you,' he said; 'you have shown your power. Let it be enough, I pray you, and let me no longer be considered an enemy of the Queen.'

Sir George accepted the apology and withdrew his forces.

The ill-advised abandonment in 1854 of our sovereignty over the Free State included our withdrawal from Basutoland. Ere long, hostilities ensued between

the Boers and the Basutos. From 1858 to 1868 a state of warfare existed, varied only by copious and recriminatory correspondence. At length, finding the Dutch too strong for him, Moshesh appealed for protection to the paramount power. Sir Philip Wodehouse received a despatch from the chief urging 'that he and his people might rest and live under the folds of the British flag before he was no more.'

The High Commissioner was not in time to preserve the integrity of the whole Territory, a portion of which had already come under the settled rule of the Free State. But the remainder, in spite of Brand's voluminous protests, became, for the second time, a British Protectorate. Three years later, Her Majesty's Government, in pursuance of its traditional policy of occasionally limiting and occasionally enlarging its responsibilities, handed over Basutoland to the Cape Colony, to whom Responsible Government had just been granted. The Basutos were not consulted in the matter. The decision was a disastrous one. In 1880, Sir Gordon Sprigg, who had succeeded Sir John Molteno as Prime Minister, put in force towards Basutoland the Colonial Disarmament or Peace Preservation Act of 1877, which had been aimed rather at the native tribes within the ordinary Cape borders. Immediate war resulted, and was still in progress when Rhodes entered Parliament.

He took, as already stated, a strong line that the disarmament was unjust and impolitic. The policy was certainly a costly one, for it added largely to the Colonial debt and ended in the entire loss of the Territory. As a last resource, the Premier borrowed, from the Imperial Government, the services of Major-General Gordon, then serving at Mauritius.

In 1881, Gordon, then a colonel, tired of unemployment in England, telegraphed to the Cape Government offering to terminate hostilities in Basutoland and, thereafter, to administer the Territory. The Government made no reply, and he therefore went to Mauritius to supervise 'barracks and drains,' as he scornfully remarked when writing to a friend. Early in 1882, Sprigg being then out of office, his successor, Mr. T. C. Scanlen, asked Her Majesty's Government to ascertain if Gordon would renew his offer. On 2nd April in that year Gordon received the invitation and sailed two days later in the sailing vessel *Scotia*. He arrived in Cape Town on 1st May 1882, not long after Rhodes's return from Oxford. His passage from the island had occupied twenty-seven days, and he was prostrated by sea-sickness, but he characteristically offered to proceed to his destination in three days, provided he could be furnished with full instructions within the period. On perusal of Basutoland papers furnished to him, he suggested, sensibly enough, on 5th May that, as the Colonial officials were discredited with the natives, the High Commissioner should himself visit Basutoland, where the presence of the Queen's direct representative would have, he thought, a great effect.

This, apparently, not being convenient, Gordon recommended calling a Pitso or national gathering, which he proposed to attend unarmed. He also stipulated that compensation should be awarded to those natives who had remained loyal to us throughout the struggle. This was agreed to. A Basutoland Losses Commission was appointed on 24th July 1882, Rhodes being one of its members. Meanwhile, as Gordon's services were urgently needed on the Eastern

frontier, consequent on unrest and disaffection in the Transkei, he proceeded to King William's Town, where he was soon laid aside by influenza. Mr. Scanlen telegraphed to Gordon that H.M. Government could not hold out any hope of intervention in Basutoland affairs, and in August he wrote, 'It is, I think, abundantly clear from public despatches and private information that Her Majesty's present advisers (the Gladstone Cabinet) will leave Basuto affairs severely alone, and I doubt if they would intervene even to save the Basuto people from utter destruction.'

He significantly added, 'I am most anxious to avoid the resumption of hostilities on the one hand, or the abandonment of the Territory on the other. The view of the Colony would probably be in the direction of the latter alternative, but I fear that it would be fraught with great danger, and only pave the way to a struggle between the European and native races on a very extensive scale.'

Gordon remained some time at King William's Town and Kokstad, delayed partly by illness, partly with a view to reorganise the Colonial forces. He is said to have shed tears (Rev. Forbes Robertson's *Letters to his Friends*) because the spiritual ministrations of a chaplain were denied to the Cape Mounted Rifles stationed on the frontier. The permanent command of the Cape forces was offered to him but refused. He found time, however, while there, to study the Basutoland question in all its bearings and to submit a series of Memoranda thereon to the Colonial Ministry. It seems clear that he recommended the stoppage of the war, and an attempt to govern the country by moral force through a British Resident, a course that was also urged by Rhodes and ultimately adopted

with complete success. But for the moment Scanlen was unprepared to give way. 'We are committed,' he writes in August, 'to Parliament to carry on till next session the attempt to bring about the restoration of law and order. . . . Against the programme suggested by you, this fact appears to stand out prominently, that there is no chief in Basutoland who has sufficient energy and power to control the whole, under the advice of a Resident.'

Gordon, soon after this, got under way for Basutoland. Writing on his way up (Dordrecht, 2nd September, 1882), he advised the Premier that the King of the Belgians had offered to give him charge of the Congo State at the end of the year, adding with unconventional simplicity, 'Do not be shocked if I say that I would like to go to the Congo for one reason, viz.: that it is a climate which precludes any hope of old age: there is, then, a good chance of the end of one's pilgrimage, which I incessantly long for and have for years done.'

The unimaginative politician, who was then Prime Minister at the Cape, must, I think, have been perturbed at the receipt of a communication of this unusual tenor.

While at King William's Town, Gordon put in some good work in placing Transkeian affairs on a satisfactory basis. In this he was assisted by the Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. Sauer, whose valuable aid he repeatedly acknowledged. Later, when together in Basutoland, serious differences arose between them. Gordon had but one object in view—the extrication of the Cape Government from a false position without further bloodshed, and the restoration of the tribe to its old position under direct British rule. Sauer,

on the other hand, was a dexterous politician. The one man acted on rigid principle, the other was guided by political expediency. Gordon sometimes forgot that the Secretary for Native Affairs was his immediate superior. All Colonial officials were 'suspect' in Basuto eyes, whereas Gordon was honoured as the representative of the great Queen over the water. They flocked to the Pitsos in thousands to greet him, while Sauer was ignored. Rhodes, who was on the spot, spoke to Gordon with his usual directness. 'You are doing wrong,' he said; 'you are letting these men make a grave mistake. They take you for the great man and pay no attention to Sauer, whereas you are only in his employment.'

Gordon said nothing, but at the next Pitso he addressed the Basutos in forcible terms, informing them that he was only the servant of Sauer. When the gathering was over, he drew Rhodes aside and whispered, 'I did it because it was the right thing, but it was hard, very hard.'

And so far was this truly great man from bearing malice that he added, 'Stay with me here and we will work together.' Rhodes, however, had already thought out his life and was not to be moved. 'There are very few men in the world,' added Gordon, 'to whom I would make such an offer, but of course you *will* have your way. I never met a man so strong for his own opinion; you think your views are always right.'

The two strong-willed men, akin in so much and yet so apart, remained, however, on excellent terms, nor was it the last occasion on which Gordon urged the young man to throw in his lot with him.

Letsie, the paramount chief, was in a reasonable frame of mind and probably sincerely desirous of

peace, while Masupha, an insubordinate inferior chief, was not disposed to acquiesce. Gordon, after his manner, went straight for the source of trouble and visited Masupha in his fastness. Whilst he was there, Sauer was suspected of having launched an armed force at Masupha, who, naturally suspecting treachery, was within an ace of anticipating the tragedy of Khartum by putting Gordon to death. The affair blew over, and it is only fair to add that Sauer always denied the charge.

But the effect was disastrous. Gordon resigned and left the country on 16th October 1882. He and Rhodes parted with mutual regret. They had much in common. Both were Imperialists; both were for justice to the native races; both were, to a marked degree, unconventional; both were frankly unafraid of responsibility, however serious. Gordon regarded money as a positive encumbrance: Rhodes amassed it diligently for great public purposes. But amicable relations between them over a prolonged period were probably out of the question. Both were unyielding, and neither would give way to the other. The utmost that can be said of them is that they were 'save in opinion, not disagreeing.' Gordon, when going to his death two years later, telegraphed to the younger man to join him in the Sudan, and help in putting down the intolerable tyranny of the Mahdi, but without avail, as Rhodes was on the eve of entering the Cape Cabinet, and the most heroic soul of modern times passed away without the support of the one man to whom he felt so strangely drawn. Something of the fine fibre of Gordon's nature touched Rhodes when he heard of his tragic death. Much moved, he exclaimed more than once, 'I am sorry I was not with him.'

The Basutoland Commission sat at Maseru from the 21st August to the 7th September 1882; then at Thlotsi Heights from 11th September to 31st October; at Maseru again on 3rd November; at Mafeking from 9th to 22nd November; at Mohale's Hoek from 24th to 28th of the same month, and finally at Alwyn's Kop until 7th December. Rhodes was diligent in his attendance, and only once permitted himself to take a few days' rest to visit Kimberley where, on 27th October 1882, he made his second Will. The document is in startling contrast to the first Will on which I have already commented. Its brevity is almost unprecedented, for it runs thus :—

'I, C. J. Rhodes, being of sound mind, leave my worldly wealth to N. E. Pickering.'

Neville Pickering, quite a young man, was his Secretary, to whom he was sincerely attached, but who, to his sorrow, died a few years later. At first sight it would appear that Rhodes had forsworn his high ideals and ambitions for the expansion of the Empire, and sacrificed everything on the altar of private friendship. But it was not so. When handing the will to his secretary in a closed envelope, he gave him the subjoined letter.

'KIMBERLEY, 28*th October* 1882.

'MY DEAR PICKERING,—Open the enclosed after my death. There is an old will of mine with Graham, whose conditions are very curious, and can only be carried out by a trustworthy person, and I consider you one.—Yours, C. J. RHODES.

'You fully understand you are to use interest of money as you like during your life. C. J. R.'

It is clear that his views were unchanged, but a little further experience of life, between 1877 and 1882, had convinced him that a sympathetic trustee was not to be expected in the person of a Secretary of State for the Colonies. During these five years there had been three Secretaries of State, Lord Carnarvon, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, and Lord Kimberley. A very cursory study of their policy towards South Africa will illuminate the situation, and enable the reader to recognise why Rhodes had lost faith in the capacity of party men, however high-minded, to carry out his great schemes for extending British rule.

In 1878 Colonial affairs, on Carnarvon's resignation, fell into the unsympathetic hands of Sir Michael Hicks Beach. His conduct towards Sir Bartle Frere is difficult to justify. It was a policy of pinpricks. The High Commissioner was scolded, but not recalled. He was ill defended by his chief in the House of Commons and shorn of half his powers in South Africa. A strong sense of public duty alone kept him at his post. The Colonists were disgusted at such treatment, nor did Sir Michael mend matters by another abortive attempt, in July 1878, to force on Confederation. His interference was warmly resented by the Cape Legislature and did infinite harm. It seemed difficult to fall lower, but his successor, Lord Kimberley, suceeeded in doing so. In July 1880, he recalled Frere, to the intense indignation of the Cape and Natal. Rhodes's faith in Secretaries of State was destroyed and he altered his will, not in its essence, but in the selection of a trustee.

On 16th May 1883 the Basutoland Losses Commission reported to the Governor. The Report is signed by the chairman and two of his colleagues, and recommended certain moderate payments to natives,

whose steady loyalty during the war had led to the destruction of their property by the rebels. In this recommendation Rhodes concurred, but when his colleagues went further, and recommended payment of losses alleged to have been incurred by European traders, he declined to follow them, on the ground *inter alia* that this was beyond the scope of the Commission. He accordingly drew up a Minority Report, and as this is his first State paper on record, it is subjoined almost *in extenso* :—

'Note. I cannot agree with my fellow-Commissioners with respect to their recommendation in Clause 21 of the Report, and I beg to place on record my reasons for differing from them.

'In my opinion the cases of Messrs. Trower and Fraser differ in no material respect from that large class of Europeans who, during the last forty years in the history of the Colony, have suffered from native rebellions, and I contend that if once the principle of the liability of the Government for the losses of its subjects owing to rebellion is recognised, it would expose the Colony to an obligation that it has neither the means nor the power to fulfil.

'The recommendation in Messrs. Trower and Fraser's cases is based on the fact that their stores were used for the purposes of Colonial defence, but, accepting the position that they were loyal subjects of the Crown, I cannot see that the particular defence of their posts by Government forces should entitle them to a special claim for compensation.

'Great stress was laid by the Messrs. Fraser upon a telegraphic correspondence between themselves and the late Premier (Sprigg) in reference to the defence of their place of business, but I have failed to find in it anything approaching a special guarantee by Government in the event of the destruction of their property by the rebels.

'The Select Committee on the Griqualand East petition for compensation in consequence of losses incurred during the Basuto rebellion divided the claims into four classes, the third of which was Traders and others who were *ordered* to remain

at their residences or stations by magistrates or other officials. Even in this case the recommendation is carefully restricted in the following words: "That the third class of claimants are, in the opinion of the Committee, entitled to compensation in such cases and to such extent as any promise of compensation may have been made to them by a duly empowered officer." Had Messrs. Fraser and Trower come under this head they would only be entitled to compensation in case of a special promise having been made to them by a duly empowered officer, of which there is no evidence whatever in the correspondence.

'They come rather under class 4, viz.: Persons who suffered from the unavoidable calamities attending war or rebellion, as to whom the Report of the Committee was as follows: "That they must be held to have suffered from the known risks incidental to all trading operations on the unsettled frontiers of the Colony. These cases are therefore analogous to those of numerous sufferers at other times and places, all of whom are entitled to the serious and generous consideration of the Legislature; though, as any action in the matter must be of a general character, your Committee does not consider it desirable to adopt any recommendation as to what form it should take."

'In answer to the contention that the Government of a country is liable for the losses of its subjects owing to rebellion, I would quote from a Government Proclamation by Sir Harry Smith dated 27th June 1848, which contains the following words: "Her Majesty's Government has denied that the people of England are bound to indemnify the inhabitants of this or any other Colony against losses or calamities, whether from war or other causes, to which their situation may expose them."

'England, with all her wealth, did not compensate her loyal subjects in India for the losses sustained during the recent Mutiny, and I can find no instances on record of such a course being pursued in other countries where rebellions have occurred.

'For the above reasons I must place on record my protest against this recommendation for compensation to be paid out of the public funds of a poor and embarrassed Colony on principles which are not founded on the practice and precedent of the older and richer countries of the world.

'C. J. RHODES.'

The robust common sense of this document is very remarkable to us who have seen 'compensation run mad' since the late war in South Africa, under which both the Imperial and Colonial Governments have been bled to the extent of millions sterling to rehabilitate not loyalists only, but neutrals and disloyalists also.

I make room here for a characteristic letter written by Rhodes to the Prime Minister (Scanlen), by whose courtesy I am permitted to publish it. It was written during the sittings of the Commission.

'MASERU, *Septbr.* 3, 1882.

'MY DEAR SCANLEN,—I feel sure that you will like a few lines from me whatever they are worth, as the position here is certainly becoming very strained. I wrote to Merriman last week, but he is running all over the country and it is doubtful if one's letters reach him. I hear Sauer has gone into Tembuland and, critical as affairs may be there, I really think his presence is required even more up here. Masupha remains in open rebellion, and no warrant is enforceable outside Maseru. Letsie pursues his usual course of trimming with both sides. I had to go to-day to value 2000 trees of a loyal native who is unable to return to his location, which is near Masupha's. We received notice that it was unsafe to go. I went out last Sunday to make a similar valuation at Sophoniah. News of this reached Masupha and he issued instructions that we were to be turned off if it occurred again. Matters are thus gloomy: Orpen still hopeful, but wants time.

'As abandonment is, with your Ministry, out of the question, and the Colony will not fight, there seems nothing left but to attempt the gradual restoration of

order by moral influence. The only other alternative is a Suzerainty, that is, to have a British Resident with a small Border police force. From what I can gather, Masupha would agree to this and pay Hut Tax for it.

'It is a humiliating course and should only be resorted to in the last extremity, but you must not shut your eyes to the fact that your present policy may fail. You are attempting to restore the authority of the Magistrates by moral persuasion after physical force has failed. The restoration of such authority means the destruction of that of the chiefs, and they know it. Having by Sprigg's folly got back into their old position, they mean, if possible, to keep it. I am hopeful that the continual drunkenness and violence of the chiefs may in time alienate the people, but the feudal tie is strong and the people cannot at present forget that the boldness of their chiefs saved their guns and (they think) their lands. They utterly mistrust the Cape. With such factors against you, you should be prepared with an alternative policy for next session. Without the recommendation of a Commission I do not see, however, how you can advocate a fresh policy. I therefore suggest your appointing such a Commission on the future government of Basutoland." They could be up here with Sauer and see something of us. We are likely to be three months in the country. What I fear is that matters may drift, and you may meet Parliament in the same position as last year. The Commission should consist of men like Gordon, Saul Solomon and others whose opinions the country would respect. I hear Gordon was thinking, on his arrival here, of visiting Masupha. I do not see how he could do so in his capacity of General. It would be his duty to send for Masupha, and Masupha would not

come. Were he on a Commission he could fairly go to each chief and consult as to the administration of the Territory. I finish by saying that matters are bad, very bad, and I write strongly because I do not wish to see our party come to grief over this wretched question.—Yours, C. J. RHODES.'

As we have seen, Gordon did start off to visit Masupha, with nearly tragic results; also that the 'alternative policy' of a Suzerainty with a British Resident proved to be the only practicable way out of the *impasse*. The Basutos had beaten, or, rather, had worn down, the Colonial forces, and had lost confidence in the Colonial Magistrates. As Rhodes, with true political insight, foresaw, the intervention of the Imperial factor became necessary, and under successive British Residents, such as Sir Marshall Clarke and Sir Godfrey Lagden[a]—men of sterling character and great tact—order has gradually been evolved out of chaos, and the Territory has advanced in civilisation and prosperity by the exercise of moral authority alone. To students of our history I commend, with much confidence, a close consideration of the progress of Basutoland under officials of the Empire whose only force was their own integrity and uprightness.

CHAPTER XII

BECHUANALAND (1883)

Rhodes in politics—Relations with Colonial Dutch—Duel with Kruger—Mankoroane—Montsoia—The Freebooters—Rhodes on Basutoland Compensation—Lieutenant-General Leicester-Smyth—Feeling in Cape Eastern Province—Brand complains of Basutos—Rhodes speaks in the House—Basutoland handed over—Rhodes on the Budget—On the Liquor Question—On Interior Trade—On Railways—Customs Union—Rhodes in Bechuanaland—Republics of Stellaland and Goshen—Rhodes and Scanlen correspond—Rhodes returns to the Colony—Proclamation by Van Niekerk—Rhodes in the House—Advocates absorption of Bechuanaland—Fails—Seeley's *Expansion of England*—Baron von Hübner.

RHODES was now fairly launched on the main stream of political life. He already saw that rising Dutch ambitions were the main obstacle to the success of his policy of Northern expansion. He sympathised entirely with their dislike of the fitful intervention of Downing Street. He admired their patriarchal ways, their unstinted hospitality, and the tenacity with which they struggled for their ideals in Church and State. But he mistrusted their ultimate political aims. His first efforts were directed towards working with and through them, and for a considerable period his policy was crowned with success. But he knew all along exactly what he wanted, and was resolute to get it. At the back of his mind, in the shade but ever present, was the determination to succeed; if possible with their aid, but if necessary, without it. In the last resort, he meant fighting. He did not, as yet, realise that his great adversary was Kruger. It was a duel in the dark.

On 5th May 1882, he moved the adjournment of the House in order to discuss the question of the Griqualand West and Bechuanaland boundaries. His contention was that the Scanlen Ministry were not making a firm stand for the integrity of the existing boundaries, and he warned the House, in advance of their information, that Boer filibusters were preparing to erect one or more new Republics on, and even within, Cape borders, and that raids might be expected. He may have suspected that Kruger was an accessory to the movement, or he may not. In any case he did not say so. It may be remembered that when the disagreement of the Arbitrators at the Bloemhof Court resulted in the Keate award, the south-western boundary of the Transvaal was delimited, not wholly to their satisfaction. The award was never respected by the Boers, and the renewed effort at a settlement made by the Convention of Pretoria was equally ineffectual.

During the period I am now reviewing, confusion and disorder ruled throughout the territory. Directly the retrocession of the Transvaal was announced, hostilities broke out between the rival chiefs inhabiting Bechuanaland. Their rivalries were fomented by Europeans of a low class. Mankoroane and Montsoia, on the one side, declared their preference for British protection: Massouw and Moshette, on the other side, expressed their willingness to be incorporated with the Transvaal. The situation was fraught with danger. Between October 1881 and July 1882, there was incessant scuffling as of kites and crows. Each side enlisted volunteers—'mean whites' as they were termed—whose interest it was to stir up strife in order to acquire land. These freebooters and nineteenth-century soldiers of fortune kept the whole country in a ferment. The result, as

Rhodes had predicted, was the establishment of new Republics on our Northern borders. Massouw and his Transvaal allies formed the Republic of Stellaland, while Moshette set up the Republic of Goshen. Their recognition would have entirely barred our way to the North.

Meanwhile I must recur to the tangled skein of Basutoland affairs. In April 1883, Rhodes was back there on the business of the Compensation Commission. On 16th May the Commission reported (G. 96 '83), Rhodes, as I have shown, dissenting from the majority of his colleagues, who proposed to extend the principle of compensation so as to include certain Europeans. On 12th September, however, the House accepted the principle, but threw out the proposed award of £25,493 to loyal Basutos, Rhodes concurring, owing to £75,000 compensation having already been made to them in other ways. Gordon had left some months before. The High Commissioner was in London. The control, such as it was, belonged to an officer styled 'Acting Governor's Agent,' who reported on the 3rd June that the chiefs were all at variance, and that he anticipated grave internal disturbances.

In the absence of Sir Hercules Robinson the Cape Parliament was opened on 27th June by the Administrator, Lieutenant-General Leicester-Smyth, who, in his opening speech, excused the lateness of the Session by reminding members that they had already, earlier in the year, attended an Extraordinary Session to discuss the problems of Basutoland. The Administrator went on to say that negotiations were still in progress for a satisfactory and enduring settlement of Basuto affairs, that the liberal terms offered by the Colony had been accepted by a majority of the tribe

but rejected by Masupha. To explain the position to Her Majesty's Government, the Commissioner of Crown Lands had been authorised to proceed to England: full terms were not yet arranged, but the prospect was hopeful. His Excellency added that the determination of the question might not improbably involve the reconsideration of the entire existing relations between the Colony and its Native Dependencies, a plain hint that the Cape might be called upon to accept Gordon's solution, viz.: that all extra-Colonial natives, wherever residing, should be brought under direct Imperial rule.

Meanwhile, on 12th July, President Brand, becoming seriously alarmed for the safety of his own State, drew the Administrator's attention to the lawless condition of Basutoland, and requested assurances that something would be done. Six days later, on 18th July, when the Disannexation Bill was before Parliament, Rhodes made a memorable speech which will be found in the collection by 'Vindex' (p. 44 and *supra*). Speaking with the weight of actual, personal and recent knowledge, he passed in review the various solutions that had been submitted to the House. Fresh from a perusal of Bulwer Lytton's *My Novel*, he asserted that the Colony had committed the mistake of Squire Hazeldean and 'put the best boy in the stocks.' 'Have you no feeling,' he said, 'for your brethren in the Free State? Here we have a despatch from President Brand. You may say he was put up to it, but does any one believe that? He is plainly in a state of alarm as to the safety of his border. There are two policies in the Free State—first that of President Brand, whom I consider the truest Afrikander in South Africa, and then that of men without any stake in the country, who live along the border and sell guns and liquor to

the Basutos and encourage them to rebel. We have tried every scheme of settlement and failed. We cannot fight; we must not abandon. We are now at the junction of two paths: one leads to peace and prosperity, the other to ruin and disaster. Every member who votes for the second reading of this Bill will take a true and patriotic course; while every member who votes with the honourable member for Colesberg, if he persists in his amendment, will live to regret that, for the sake of a paltry party triumph, he forsook the real interests of the country.' "

I have not given the speech in full because it contained passages not strictly relevant to the question before the House. This hit, for instance, at Hofmeyr, who had recently entreated the House to require its members to dress in black, the costume *de rigueur* in the Transvaal Volksraad: 'I am still in Oxford tweeds and I think I can legislate in them as well as in sable clothes.'

And this, the first, but by no means the last, fling at the Transvaal efforts to divert trade from the Cape Colony: 'Do you know it is high time that we began to think of the Cape Colony? We have heard so much about the Free State and about the Transvaal, that it is time to think about the interests of our own Colony. By the accident of birth, I was not born in this country, but that is nothing. I have adopted it as my home. I look upon the interests of the Colony first and those of the neighbouring States second. While sympathising with the Transvaal, I think that the Transvaal should return something of that feeling to this Colony, instead of shutting out our industry by leasing everything to foreigners for ten, twenty, or thirty years. At Kim-

berley your Transvaal trade is ruined by being shut out through foreign monopolies.'

It is noteworthy that so far back as 1883, sixteen years before the great war, the self-centred policy of the Republic was thus evident, in spite of the fact that its Dutch sympathisers in the Colony were going out of their way to befriend it.

Or take this reference to the 'Bond' programme and its thinly veiled disloyalty: 'I have my own views as to the future of South Africa, and I believe in a United States of South Africa, but as a portion of the British Empire!'

Rhodes's views prevailed. The Bill was passed, including a provision that in consideration of the Colony being relieved of the responsibility for the administration of Basutoland, an annual contribution of £20,000 would be made by the Cape towards the cost of governing the Territory. On September 3rd Scanlen, the Prime Minister, sent to the Governor a copy of the Act and asked for the Royal assent. Lieutenant-General Smyth, doubtless in accordance with instructions, elected, however, to reserve the Act for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. On 1st November, Lord Derby ungraciously demanded that the subsidy should be paid quarterly in advance. Within twenty-four hours Scanlen, who was by this time in London, gave the requisite assurance, but requested immediate promulgation of the Act, as both President Brand and Captain Blyth, the Governor's Agent in Basutoland, continued to make strong protests against the impolicy of further delay. The traditional dilatoriness of the Colonial Office was shocked by the idea of prompt action. On 13th November they intimated to Sir Hercules Robinson, who was still in England, that

they could not advise Her Majesty to accept the transfer of the Territory until the Basuto tribe had, by formal vote, demanded to be again taken over. A telegram purporting to come from the Colonial Secretary, but in reality drafted by Sir Hercules, was accordingly despatched to this effect, insisting on a plain answer to a plain question. In response, Letsie, the paramount chief, convened a great Pitso for Thursday, 29th November, to hear the Queen's message, which peremptorily required the tribe to give unanimous expression to their desire to come under the Imperial Government and undertake to obey the Resident and pay Hut Tax. As it was well known that the tribe were not unanimous, this proviso, though probably not so intended, threatened to wreck the ship within sight of port. Letsie and the other chiefs at the Conference were, it is true, for giving the pledge, but Masupha and his adherents declined to attend. Indeed Masupha held a rival Pitso on December 5th, at which complete independence was voted for. The recalcitrants were thought to represent nearly one third of the tribe. Letsie was in despair, and telegraphed in the picturesque phraseology so dear to the native mind: 'Abandon me not, even though Masupha refuses to follow me. Abandonment means our complete destruction. We do not want our independence. Listen, Queen, to my earnest prayer. I and my people will follow faithfully wherever you lead.'

Steady pressure on all sides at length terminated the painful indecision of the Secretary of State, and on 17th December he telegraphed to Lieutenant-General Smyth accepting, for the third time, the allegiance of the tribe. And this is how Basutoland affairs stood at the close of 1883.

Rhodes might have exclaimed with Richelieu, 'Time and I against any two.'

I return to Rhodes and the House of Assembly, where he was already a familiar figure, 'as restless,' says one observer, 'as restless on his seat as a spring doll: rarely does he retain the same attitude for two minutes in succession. When he speaks, he comes to the point at once, but he is somewhat difficult to follow. The statement that he thinks aloud is an apt description of his style of address. His conclusion is as abrupt as his commencement, and one only realises that he has finished by seeing him flop down heavily on his seat and jerk his hands into his trousers' pockets.'

On 1st August 1883, he had made an interesting speech during the Budget debate, having seconded an amendment to the taxation proposals of the Government. The Treasurer, an amateur financier, proposed to meet the deficit due to the war by a House duty, a revision of stamps and licences, and other petty and vexatious imposts. Rhodes declared himself in favour of an income tax, with a heavy excise on Cape spirits, the cheapness of which was demoralising the native races. On the liquor question he was always sound. In regard to the income tax, he was twenty years ahead of his time, no such tax being imposed until after his death. His speech, as usual, took a wide range. He never entirely mastered the difficulty of keeping to the point. Collateral thoughts were apt to occur to him and to mix themselves with the thread of his original subject. His allusions to Adam Smith were quite those of a very young man, but his application to Colonial affairs of Smith's economic doctrines was not without force, and his reference to the possible diversion of Cape trade reads like a prophecy.

'I am glad,' he exclaimed, 'that the House has arrived at the conclusion that we must retain our trade with the interior, or they might have found it entirely removed from us. I say this, not in any spirit of hostility to the Transvaal, for if we are to do anything it must be done jointly with the Transvaal. But unless we do something, we shall lose our trade first to Natal and then to Delagoa Bay, owing to the prohibitive tariff of the Transvaal.'

The 'something' he thought the Cape had to do to retain its trade was to extend its railways towards the interior. At this date the line, though authorised, had not reached Kimberley, and there were no railways in either Republic. He saw that unless the Colony pushed on energetically, its trade would be captured by ports with superior geographical advantages. This is precisely what has happened. In 1885, Kruger himself was in favour of an extension of the Colonial line from Kimberley to Pretoria, and opened negotiations on the subject, but the Cape was unready or unwilling, and he fixed on a junction with Delagoa Bay, which possessed for him the double advantage of proximity, and of being a port not under the control of Great Britain. He was intensely annoyed at the refusal of his overtures by Sir Gordon Sprigg, and doubly so because in the same session the Colony exhibited towards him what he considered unwonted unfriendliness by placing a duty on his Transvaal tobacco. It is noticeable that Rhodes, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, spoke up strongly for the acceptance of Kruger's railway overtures.

Another vital necessity for the Cape, in order to preserve its carrying trade, was a Customs Union to harmonise rival tariffs and terminate the intricacies of

the rebate system, and of the transit duty levied on goods destined for the interior States. But no such union was arrived at till 1889. It will be observed that Rhodes was not content merely to retain the traffic of the two Republics. He saw the necessity of increasing the exports of the Colony itself, an important point then, and for years afterwards, strangely neglected.

'One of the most serious things,' he said, 'for the Colony to consider is that during the last ten years our wool and ostrich feathers and other staple industries have not increased in the slightest degree. Let us attend to the development of our internal resources.' Disregard of this warning has cost the Colony more than it knows.

But I must return to the affairs of Bechuanaland. Rhodes had been sent up by Scanlen to see what could be done to protect Colonial interests. Between 26th May and 2nd July 1883, a close telegraphic correspondence was maintained between them. Writing from Taungs on 26th May, Rhodes addressed the Prime Minister as follows, though the letter did not reach its destination until 11th June.

'I beg to forward you the petition of the chief Mankoroane and councillors, making you an offer of the whole of his territory. The Stellaland Boers appear to be leaving him alone just now and he has still a good deal of territory left. Its cession, of course, gives you power to deal with Stellaland. Unless accepted, you will have to reconsider the question of that portion of Griqualand West which I think evidence will prove we have taken illegally as Waterboer's territory. Mankoroane declines compensation for it. A perusal of Colonel Moysey's report will show you that he considered we had gone too far. I think it

my duty to go to Stellaland for further evidence on this most important point, as there are several witnesses there who, I hear, were connected with the Mahura-Waterboer treaty. I have also heard that they have been told the Commission is directed against their interests, and it is as well to explain its objects to them. I hear they are not at all inclined to join the Transvaal, and that there are about 350 of them, a good many being from the Free State and the Colony, and that a good many of the original freebooters have been bought out. I will write fully on my return from Stellaland. If the policy of acceptance is adopted by the Cabinet, I strongly urge the immediate placing of a Resident here. I feel confident the question could be settled without firing a single shot, and your trade lines kept open. The alternative is absorption by the Transvaal and stoppage of all Colonial trade with the interior.'

He seems to have lost no time in proceeding to his destination. The very next day he addressed a telegram to the chairman of the Griqualand West Boundary Commission at Taungs, reading as follows :—

'Tendency of evidence so far is to throw a large number of Griqualand West farms, for which titles have been issued, into Batlapin territory. Mankoroane has handed me a petition protesting against any division of his country, and offering cession of whole of it unconditionally to the Cape Government. If your Government accepts this cession, as a step towards solution of a difficulty, I am inclined to think Stellaland may be dealt with. Petition goes by post.'

On the same date (27th May 1883) Rhodes telegraphed also to the Attorney-General, emphasising the importance of not allowing matters to drift by reason of red-

tape delays: 'For goodness sake,' he says, 'meet Parliament with *some* policy.'

On 2nd June, Rhodes and the Prime Minister had an interesting colloquy over the wire, during which the former reported thus:—

'I have been through Stellaland and been very well received. All having interest in that country, including head-men, Niekerk and others, say they cannot stand alone, but must be annexed to Cape Colony or Transvaal. Majority I think in favour of former, and all would be with proper management, especially if they could be told soon that the Imperial Government will not allow of extension of Transvaal boundary. I found Transvaal emissary with Niekerk treating for annexation. Jorissen should be at once informed by Lord Derby that this is impossible. The annexation of Mankoroane's country and Stellaland is the only solution of the Transvaal question. If Transvaal get them, Cape Colony entirely shut out from interior trade, and our railways to Kimberley comparatively useless, as Transvaal will be in possession of Kuruman route as well. I see no difficulty in arranging boundaries between Stellaland and Goshen. There is ample land for Mankoroane's location. If you think this policy a good one, you should act promptly and debar Jorissen from getting any right of extension for the Transvaal. Stellaland consists of 400 farms, has a "Raad" and all the elements of a new Republic. Your people from the Colony are trekking in daily and replacing the freebooters. You cannot expect to clear them out now, nor do I think it is a right thing. It is natural development of country. This is a case of delay being fatal. The Transvaal have helped Stellaland with money and arms, and are now waiting for

permission from home to annex it. There is an English contingent in Stellaland anxious to join the Colony, and the Boer section admit a Cape title is worth more than a Transvaal title, but if no movement is made by us they will join the Transvaal, and you may as well stop your railways. Bethell, Montsoia's agent, will be here to-day. My suggestion is: Accept Mankoroane's offer, take Stellaland, recognise Stellaland titles, place Residents with Montsoia and Masheli. He has joined with Montsoia and, I hear, Sechele also. The land of Goshen sent for help to Stellaland, which was refused. But let me press on you, you must act at once. The key of the position is to stop Lord Derby from giving the Transvaal the right to extend: secondly, have the courage to take it for the Colony. Let Merriman know, and if you won't telegraph to him, I will telegraph myself. I may add that on this question the Kimberley vote is won, and I put it to you: 'if you have to go out, is it not better to go out on what is a real policy?'

This characteristic and statesmanlike message needs only this elucidation. The fiasco in Basutoland affairs had rather frightened the Cape Parliament, and Rhodes foresaw that Scanlen might hesitate to take the bold step he recommended. He therefore pointed out that it would win the Kimberley vote, a strong one. Merriman (Commissioner of Public Works) was evidently in England. His instructions were divulged in Scanlen's reply message, which reads, 'Is your proposition to confine Transvaal to its present limits? When Merriman left it was understood he was to confer with the Secretary of State, and offer to divide the country, giving the Transvaal any portion to which it might have a reasonable claim, we, on our part,

taking over Mankoroane and extending our borders westwards, thus securing command of the interior trade.'

But Rhodes was never fond of half measures where territory was concerned. Back came his swift reply, which is a typical example of his practice, when much moved, of repeating himself again and again in order to drive a point well home.

'Don't part with one inch of territory to Transvaal. They are bouncing. The interior road runs at present moment on the edge of Transvaal boundary. Part with that, and you are driven into the desert. Transvaal has issued titles for ground claimed by Stellaland. One of the strongest reasons for Stellaland joining the Cape is that they have given their volunteers titles for land, to which, if they joined the Transvaal, there are already Transvaal titles. My reason for saying don't part with an inch to the Transvaal is that the interior runs close to their present boundary, and knowing, as you do, the desert class of the country, if you part with the road you part with everything. Advise Merriman not to let Transvaal have one inch, and if you have any faith in my statement you can take the country to Sechele's without costing you a sixpence. I repeat again Bethell, Montsoia's agent, will be in this morning. Don't commit yourself, but send me word to talk to him. One of the strongest points with Stellaland for joining the Colony is the question of title. The Transvaal has helped Stellaland with money, men, and arms. They are now waiting for their reward, that is the junction of Stellaland with themselves, and the complete annihilation under their protective system of your interior trade. While you have been asleep, they have never failed to have an emissary in Stellaland. The man I

met is waiting for a despatch from Pretoria to say that Jorissen has induced Lord Derby to adopt extension of boundary, on which Republic will be offered to Transvaal and accepted by Volksraad now sitting. The man in Stellaland is paid and sent by Transvaal Executive: what stops them is waiting for England's consent. You must turn their flank by accepting this question as Cape one. Stellalanders want secured title, and though the Transvaal is at bottom of whole thing they would join the Cape Colony to-morrow to get security. Land they have taken is unoccupied by natives. It is the hunting veld: there will be no native complications: my Commission will report that you have illegally taken a large portion of Mankoroane's territory, and unless you act in the direction pointed out, you will have to pay heavy compensation. Any questions?'

Scanlen replied as follows: 'Shall communicate the purport of your message to Merriman and show it to my colleagues. The first step, if anything were done, would be to have the country declared British territory. It appears to me unlikely that Lord Derby would do this unless perfectly assured that the British Government would not be brought into conflict with the Transvaal and unlikely that the Cape Parliament would afterwards consent to annexation unless it had a similar assurance. If Lord Derby asks, "Where is the evidence of their desire to come under British rule?" what answer must be given him?'

MR. RHODES—'Stellanders are willing to petition, but if it is hopeless, they are afraid of annoying Transvaal section, but they all want, if they can get it, Cape rule, because it makes their farms worth more per morgen than the Transvaal title does. Should I get them to

petition ? I ask this not from you as Government but privately, will it help ? '

MR. SCANLEN—' It would help if Lord Derby is to be influenced.'

MR. RHODES—' If you are gauging the feeling of the Colony and dare not propose annexation, as the next thing stop Lord Derby from allowing the Transvaal to annex: they have the pluck of bankrupts, and given the right, they would annex up to Egypt to-morrow ! They are moving heaven and earth to annex Stellaland and Goshen. Any questions ? '

MR. SCANLEN—' Not at present.'

On the following day the Prime Minister cabled to Merriman through the Agent-General, giving the purport of Rhodes's communications, but taking no strong line and being apparently somewhat alarmed at the possible consequences of definite action. His message was as follows :—

' *3rd June. Premier to Merriman.*

' Rhodes states principal men in Stellaland seek annexation to Colony or Transvaal—thinks majority favour former as giving superior value to land, and paid emissary from Transvaal negotiating for annexation. Colonists replacing freebooters. Urges strongly maintenance convention line, taking over Mankoroane and Stellaland, recognising Stellaland titles. Says Commission will report encroachment on Mankoroane's territory resulting in demands for compensation—thinks best solution as suggested. I think it improbable Parliament would take country if there is difference with Transvaal, but would consent if done by arrangement.'

To check Rhodes's statements as to the probable loss

of Colonial trade should the Transvaal obtain an extension of their territory westwards, Scanlen, also on 3rd June, telegraphed to the Civil Commissioner at Kimberley to the following effect :—

'Confidential. Are you of opinion that the trade from the Colony through the country of Mankoroane, Stellaland and Goshen, northwards, is very considerable, and that if road through that territory is blocked by formation of Republics, who will impose their own duties, the interests of the Colony will suffer materially? Can you form a rough estimate of the value of goods passing over the route indicated?'

The Civil Commissioner promptly despatched the following reply to these inquiries :—

'*4th June. To Premier, Cape Town.*

'I don't think the trade from the Colony with Mankoroane's country, etc., is very considerable at present. Much of it must go from Natal *via* Bloemfontein or Winburg, and the unsettled state of the country would make traders cautious, but the trade will certainly increase when peace is established, and I think nearly the whole of it will pass into our hands when the railway to Kimberley is completed, unless a Republic be formed and heavy custom duties, as in the Transvaal, established. I am afraid I cannot give you any reliable estimate of value of goods.'

Scanlen then despatched the following weighty message to Rhodes :—

'*3rd June. Premier to Rhodes, Barkly West.*

'After communication was interrupted I had to leave town to keep an appointment and was not free until evening. I have sent Merriman a summary of

your message and hope to have a reply to this and the former one indicating what bearing this question is having on Basutoland affairs. It could only be in the event of our shoulder being eased in that direction that we could undertake any responsibility. It is unfortunate that a question of such moment should arise when the Colony has to meet a large deficiency in revenues and in the last session of this Parliament. Under such circumstances consideration of the question upon its merits is improbable. Can you state approximately the number of Europeans in Stellaland and Goshen, what boundaries they recognise among themselves, and what probability there is of anything like unanimity on the part of the people in desiring annexation to the Colony? I need not point out that there is a very strong feeling of sympathy with the Transvaal in parts of the Colony, and that it would be hopeless to expect the assent of Parliament to any arrangement supposed to be adverse to the interests of the Transvaal. To ensure acceptance there would need to be either an almost unanimous desire upon the part of the people, or a friendly arrangement with the Transvaal, or both these conditions concurring. When at Bloemfontein, Wolf, now member for Kimberley, in reply to a remark of mine as to the interior, twice said he had often heard of this trade, but disbelieved in its existence. Can you give any estimate of its extent or value? Assuming that a railway should be made from Delagoa Bay into the Transvaal, could the Colony compete and hold the trade or a reasonable share of it?'

A prompt reply came from Rhodes, 'Will answer your questions to-morrow at nine o'clock when you come into office. They require thinking over.'

The answer duly arrived and reads thus :—

"Stellaland has about four hundred men entitled to a farm each. In Goshen about one hundred and sixty farms are claimed, but Moshette only offers ninety and we are told is quarrelling with Boers who we hear are in a bad way. For boundaries between Stellaland and Goshen see Moysey's map. The line runs from a point somewhere near Gouwss Saltpan on Transvaal Convention boundary in a north-westerly direction south-westward of Setlagoli River, Stellaland being south and Goshen north of it. The boundaries of Stellaland as now defined are approximately as follows. From Koppie Eukel with Convention boundary to near Gouwss Saltpan, thence north-westward with common boundary of Goshen towards Desert, thence south-westerly passing within about thirty miles of Kurûman to within about twenty-five miles of Griqualand West boundary, thence easterly more or less parallel to Griqualand West boundary and cutting about eight miles to northward of Taungs to a beacon on Harts River on a piece of ground marked one hundred and fifty-one B. and thence to Koppie Eukel.

My strong opinion is that majority of Stellaland people are anxious to join Cape Colony, but until they know there is a chance of annexation do not care to declare openly for Colony for fear of offending Transvaal. Niekerk suggested joint Transvaal and Cape Commission to settle question, and says they must join one or other as they cannot go on as at present. Large meeting for Nachtmaal at Vreiburg on sixth and seventh inst., when petition already started will be signed for joining Colony. Stellaland will not care to part with any of its land to Transvaal and my impression is that Niekerk

and Delarey, their head men, are in favour of Colony. I think boundary of Goshen could be adjusted so as to satisfy reasonable claims of Transvaal to "inspected" farms and still preserve our trade route to interior. The furthest route westward that can be used without going through the desert is that from Taungs northward to Kunana and thence to near Ramahlabama as per Moysey's map. The more usual road is that at the Harts River and then along the edge of the Convention boundary. Our trade with and through Transvaal is practically stopped on account of heavy import duties. The trade with Bechuana territories and interior last year, which was a bad one owing to disturbances, was about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds by firms I know, who inform me that if Transvaal is allowed to extend its boundary across present route they will be obliged to go to Pretoria and import through Natal. On even terms I think we have every chance of competing with Delagoa Bay. Study map. If Stellaland elect to be annexed to Colony I don't see how Transvaal can object, seeing that the far greater part of it was never claimed by Transvaal. Moysey's map shows nearly all inspected farms in Goshen not in Stellaland, and no portion of latter was occupied by Boers. Goshen is bounded as follows: northward by Molopo River, south-westward by Stellaland and eastward by Convention line of Transvaal through it. I think a friendly arrangement as regards a boundary might be made with Transvaal and conflict with it avoided, securing our route to interior and Montsoia's rights, which latter are of importance to Imperial Government. The territory claimed by Mankoroane, and which he now wishes to cede, includes whole of Stellaland but none of Goshen, or very little of it, if

any. It is bounded south by Griqualand West, eastward by Convention line, northward by Setlagoli River and westward by desert, including Kuruman. We leave this to-morrow for Griquatown unless you wish me to communicate with you. Please let me know.'

I quote here from a letter written to Rhodes by a Transvaal burgher. The place and date, Bloemhof, 3rd June 1883.

'This morning after you left I had a long talk with Niekerk and am convinced his desire is to be with you, but owing to the manner in which he has had to do with our Transvaal authorities, he does not like to show his hand too quickly. General Schoeman went through to Pretoria yesterday. He does not like the aspect of things there. This place and Christiana are being commandeered for men and goods to fight Mapoch. There is great discontent. People are flying from the Transvaal to Stellaland. Niekerk tells me Mapoch is getting the best of it.'

From the Prime Minister came a message to Rhodes on 4th June, 'I have no reply from Merriman to either of my cables on subject of Bechuanaland.'

And again on 5th June as follows :—

From Premier, to Rhodes, Kimberley.

'Confidential. I have just read a telegram from Bethell to the Private Secretary of the High Commissioner. I should be glad if you will ask him to show you a copy of it. If he is correct, there would appear a combination forming amongst the Chiefs to turn out the freebooters, and assumption of British authority would probably stop this.'

Rhodes sent the following replies on 4th and 6th June respectively :—

4th June.

'Bethell says natives have combined' and that war will commence in three weeks, but declaration of British rule or protectorate would stop their action. Montsoia's son will be here in a few days. Bethell says he would send him back to his father to stop war if there was any chance of British interference. Bethell is here trying to buy ammunition. Could not British Government be induced to annex, with understanding that Cape and Transvaal should relieve it, and arrange boundaries by means of joint Commission ? Farms in Goshen not yet inspected or allotted. Boers there divided against themselves, find that, after native requirements are met in Goshen, very little land would remain, power of Goshen and Stellaland Boers much overestimated. I feel question could easily be settled, without cost or bloodshed, by prompt action. Should I unofficially send Montsoia message to refrain from attacking pending discussion in Cape Parliament and at home ? I think Bethell's statements should be taken with caution. I leave here at ten o'clock for Griquatown.'

6th June 1883.

'Bethell reiterates that combined action has been arranged within fourteen days. Daumas certainly told me at Taungs that Bechuanas had agreed to combined action against Boers. Bethell wants some assurance, as he would at once start back to stop Montsoia. I do not see you can give this, but if your message from Merriman was favourable I could give him guarded sense of this on my responsibility without committing

Government. The difficulty is that I am starting for Griquatown; Commission has already gone. Bethell says he leaves on Saturday, you will find that he is applying for powder. Should I wait, telling Commission to go on without me and begin evidence, or leave matter as it is? Of course he may simply be exaggerating; quantity of powder asked for would be indication, please reply, as I am saddled up.'

The complications referred to in the foregoing messages did not tend to clear up the situation. It is, however, abundantly clear that the policy of Rhodes, swift action, was the only true remedy for the almost intolerable anarchy on the Colonial borders. But the great god Routine loves procrastination, and the wheels of State revolve but slowly. The following message was despatched on 6th June:—

From Premier to Rhodes, Kimberley.

'*6th June.—Confidential.* Thanks for your message just received, which I shall send to Administrator for perusal. I have communicated with Merriman, and Administrator with Secretary of State. By all means take steps to stop commencement of hostilities, if possible. Once fighting commences, all chance of arrangements will be lost. Am hourly expecting news from Merriman.'

Scanlen seems to have followed this message up with another of the same date.

'*June* 6.—It would not be possible to give Bethell any assurance until information comes from England. If anything can be done, first step would be to declare country British Territory. Next, Letters Patent author-

ising its annexation to Colony, and then Bill. Probably (illegible) would be taken first. I must await news from Merriman. Perhaps it will be as well for you to remain for the present, instructing Commissioner to take evidence. No application for powder come yet.'

On the 7th June the Prime Minister again wired :—

'*Ju.* 7.—No news yet. Bethell telegraphed to Secretary of High Commissioner, "I have informed them," *i.e.* your Commission, "that I was ready to accept protectorate of Baralongs, with expulsion of Moshette's Boers, but cannot agree to annexation Mankoroane's country, giving Stellaland Boers titles to country. This is too great premium on freebooting." This is contrary to opinion expressed in your conversation on 2nd that Stellaland titles should be recognised. And it would therefore appear that Mankoroane would expect as a result of annexation that the intruders should be expelled either by British or Colonial Government. Neither will, I am sure, undertake that task.'

To elucidate the development of the situation, I give the following :—

Paraphrase of Cypher telegram.

From Administrator, Cape Town, to Lord Derby, London.

'11*th June.*—Confidential. Bethell telegraphs, "News received this morning from Bechuanaland, 'all chiefs but one have joined, will fight next week.'" Three courses would prevent spread war into Transvaal : First—Immediate proclamation annexing country, promising ejection freebooters. Second—Insist Transvaal preserve neutrality, when natives will respect

frontier. Third—Offer to proclaim Protectorate when natives driven freebooters over Transvaal border. Imperial protectorate preferred to Colonial. Message sent before Thursday will reach him. Colonial Government has refused to allow him purchase ammunition for purposes for war. As question is, I understand, under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, I think it right to keep you informed, but have no wish to press Imperial action, which, if solitary, might produce serious complications.'

The following is the next message from Rhodes :—

To Premier, Cape Town.

'Just returned : report finished. Boundary recommended as fair, will cut seventy farms into Batlapin territory, of which about thirty have titles. Your only solution is to take over whole Mankoroane territory, and then arrange Stellaland. Have just got your telegram of seventh. Bethell talks nonsense, he has nothing to do with Mankoroane. Daumas thoroughly understood from me Stellaland could not be cleared ; even if it was, after clearance you would sell it as Crown land. As I told you before, with exception of Harts River, it is chiefly hunting veld. It is better to leave Boers and charge high quitrent. I did not differ with Bethell, as he is wanted to work Montsoia, but he has nothing to do with Stellaland, only with Goshen. He took advantage of my absence to try and bounce you. Solution always suggested by me is, recognition of Boers of Stellaland. Goshen is different, they are unable to hold their own, unable to occupy, and could not be retained without removal of natives ; as far as I can learn, they are in a bad way and not in possession of country like

Stellaland. News from Stellaland just received—there are two parties, one for Cape, one for Transvaal, even latter would join Cape if Home Government does not concede at once right to Transvaal to extend, they are waiting result of Jorissen mission. You must stop extension of Transvaal boundary. Melville leaves to-morrow and will give you all news.'

I now subjoin copy of telegram from Premier to Rhodes, Kimberley :—

'*June* 15.—*Confidential.* Your message received. No information whatever relating to Bechuanaland has been communicated by Merriman in reply to the messages I sent, nor has anything come officially, and we shall have to await information by mail or on Merriman's return. He leaves to-day. He telegraphs the conditions upon which Imperial Government will take over Basutos. That they give satisfactory evidence of their desire to remain under the Crown, provide revenue required, and undertake to be obedient to laws and orders of H.C. Arrangements with Free State for preserving border relations. Colony to undertake by provisions to be embodied in Repeal Act to pay over Customs duties on goods imported into that territory, or equivalent for such revenue. This is the substance of the conditions telegraphed. I wrote you on eleventh.'

The next message of the series is the following :—

From Rhodes, Kimberley, to Premier, Cape Town.

'Mankoroane has sent message that he will sit perfectly still awaiting result of Cape and home action. Daumas will have nothing to do with Bethell's insane project to commence hostilities. I have certified for

some powder, lead and cartridges for Mankoroane for hunting purposes. His people are starving and he wishes to send out his hunters. I do this on distinct pledge from Daumas that he will not in any way use it for hostilities. He is a gentleman and can be trusted. I have asked him to send Montsoia a message to sit still and wait. Bethell is a firebrand and simply wants fighting.'

A fortnight's lull ensued, and then came the following:—

From Rhodes, Kimberley, to Scanlen, Premier, Cape Town.

'You will see Stewart's message to High Commissioner. Brown of Kuruman also sends message that they are preparing for war. I do not think myself that they will break out, but of course the right thing would be to send some one to Mankoroane at once, who should also communicate with Montsoia, that is if you intend doing anything. All chance of war would then be stopped. The unfortunate thing is when action is required no one has courage to take a bold step.'

The following is a copy of the reply telegram from Scanlen to Rhodes:—

'*June* 28.—I have conferred with the High Commissioner with reference to the message from Stewart. He has had no instructions or reply to the communications he made to the Secretary of State, and, as previously intimated, Merriman made no allusion to the subject in his messages. It does not appear that anything can be done at present, and we must await Merriman's arrival with the despatches coming by the same boat.'

On 2nd July the following were exchanged :—

From Rhodes to Premier, Cape Town.

'Have waited till Wednesday hoping Merriman may arrive on Tuesday, as he might send me a message and I could send word to Mankoroane. I have also long letters from Stellaland. On what day do you expect him ?'

From Premier to Rhodes, Kimberley.

'*July* 2.—The *Trojan* is advertised as due on Thursday. She may arrive on Wednesday afternoon, but I doubt if sooner. I am disposed to think it would be advantageous to you to meet Merriman here as soon after his arrival as possible, and learn fully what has transpired.'

Rhodes evidently acted on the suggestion and returned to Cape Town. We have already seen that he spoke there on the 18th July. But with all his energy he could not bring his own friends or the Home Government to a prompt decision, failing which, Niekerk, on 6th August, issued the following Proclamation :—

STELLALAND

PROCLAMATION

Of His Honour Gerrit Jacobus van Niekerk, Administrator of the Government of Stellaland, thereto authorised by the Territorial Paramount Chief David Massouw Riet Taaibosch, by virtue of the deed of appointment of the 18th January, and in conformity with the Treaty of Peace of the 26th July 1883, and the proclamation of the 16th January 1883.

To all who may see or hear read these presents Greeting :

WHEREAS for the proper maintenance of law, and also for the promotion of the interests of the inhabitants of this

territory, it is necessary that, in conformity with above-mentioned Treaty of Peace of the 26th of July 1883, this country should be proclaimed to be an Independent State:

NOW, therefore, I, Gerrit Jacobus van Niekerk, Administrator of the Government of Stellaland, have deemed it expedient, as I hereby do, to proclaim the territory known until this present time as Stellaland, and situate on and such: to the south and north of the Harts River, to be the Republic of Stellaland, and that the seat of Government of this Republic shall be the already established village of Vrijburg.

And this Proclamation shall be and shall remain of force until such time that the cession of the 19th of September 1882, shall be complied with.

Thus done at Vrijburg, Republic of Stellaland, this 6th day of August, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty Three.

God save the country and the nation!

G. J. VAN NIEKERK,
Administrator.

Thus far, therefore, the efforts of Rhodes to see justice done and British paramountcy maintained were unavailing.

Amid circumstances of great discouragement his strenuous efforts during the Session of 1883, to keep open the route to the North, were frustrated by the apathy of Parliament, many of its members virtually betraying the interests confided to them in order to aggrandise the Transvaal Republic. Rhodes and his Delimitation Commission came back to Cape Town, as I have shown, with a cession of all lower Bechuanaland in their pockets, and a petition from the white inhabitants of Stellaland to be annexed to the Cape. The first document was validly executed by Mankoroane, who preferred to come under civilised rule, rather than witness a continuance of the practice in vogue with the Dutch freebooters of annexing his best lands. On

16th August, Rhodes played his first card by moving 'That this House place a Resident with Mankoroane.' He spoke at a disadvantage, having recently had an attack of 'camp' fever at Kimberley. He prepared no speech and was without notes, but the resolute purpose within him overleapt all barriers. He could not influence votes or overcome the prejudices of the 'Transvaal party,' but his speech was listened to with interest, and he impressed himself on the House as a coming force. He gave, indeed, a masterly exposition of the situation.

'I feel,' he said, 'that the House has not yet risen to the supreme importance of this question which is far more momentous than that of Basutoland or the Transkei. You are dealing with a question upon the proper treatment of which depends the whole future of this Colony. I look upon this Bechuanaland territory as the Suez Canal of the trade of this country, the key of its road to the interior. The question before us is this: whether the Colony is to be confined within its present borders, or whether it is to become the dominant State in South Africa, and spread its civilisation over the interior. Last year I moved for a Commission on the northern boundaries of Griqualand West. The Commission arrived at the conclusion that the boundary claimed by us went further than we were entitled to go under Waterboer's concession. We pointed out that seventy farms in the territory were really outside the Colony and were the property of Mankoroane. That is one reason, though a minor one, why the Colony has a practical interest in the settlement of this Bechuanaland question. I call it a minor reason because a much larger reason is the future of the trade of this Colony. I come now to the second factor in

the question, which is Stellaland. The Republic of Stellaland also offers us its Territory. I feel that it is our duty, when our younger sons go out, so to speak, to acquire land, to follow in their steps with civilised government. Is not this the principle of the British Government? I refer you to a despatch of Sir Peregrine Maitland, to show that this is exactly what was done forty years ago in the case of the Free State farms taken from the Basutos. I solemnly warn the House that if it fails to secure control of the interior, we shall fall from our position of the paramount State, which is our right in any future scheme of Federal Union.'

One of the permanent officials of the House says of this speech, 'It made a great impression on me. I do not pretend that I saw with him the great future that was coming, nor did Members, but I recognised a man who had formed a very definite opinion on a matter concerning which he stood very much alone, and whose determination was only strengthened by opposition.'

The remarks I have quoted are to the point, for in the speech we have distinct allusion to the territories beyond the Cape borders, the vast country now known as Rhodesia. The desirability of preserving access to the North is also dwelt upon, with a view to maintain the status of the Cape in the coming Federation. In this Rhodes never wavered. With profound policy, he kept the Imperial factor in the background and urged annexation solely in Colonial interests. But the effort was in vain. The House would have none of it. The offers of Mankoroane and of the Stellalanders were both declined.

Then Rhodes played his second card. The High Commissioner, as we have seen, was in London. Rhodes,

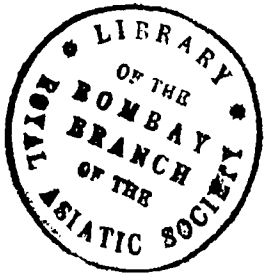
whose personality had already made an impression on him, wrote suggesting the temporary acquisition of the Territory on the joint account of the Home and Colonial Governments, each side contributing one half of the expense of administration. Lord Derby and the Cape Premier both acquiesced, and the situation was for the moment saved. But even this reasonable compromise was eventually rejected by the short-sighted vote of the parochial Parliament in Cape Town. On 10th September, Rhodes spoke again in support of a motion to prohibit the sale of liquor to any native within five miles of any proclaimed diamond area. The 'brandy interest' was strong enough to defeat the proposal. The House rose and Rhodes returned to Kimberley, much disgusted with the situation. We can imagine him, if we like, finding solace in a remarkable and far-reaching book, recently published—Seeley's *Expansion of England.*

Shrewd observers predicted the early fall of the Ministry, followed by perhaps an appeal to the country. Cape credit was at a low ebb, and Scanlen was only able to negotiate a loan on terms less favourable than those obtained by one of the Colonial Municipalities.

It may be interesting to place on record here the impressions of a keen and cultivated traveller, who came into contact with Rhodes in July 1883. Baron von Hübner, formerly Austrian Ambassador in Paris, was in Cape Town during the session. In his delightful book, *Through the British Empire*, he writes as follows :—

'But who is the young man seated at the same table, with an intelligent look, a grave deportment, and a sympathetic air ? Like so many others, he left England and came here when quite young, obscure and poor. He bought a small farm, and failed. He then did what

others do in similar cases; he went to the diamond fields. There fortune smiled upon him, and by his energy, activity, and perseverance he earned her favours. He returned to the Cape a rich man. But then he discovered something more rare and hard to find than a diamond mine. He discovered that gold is not everything in the world; that learning and education are wanted also. He returned post-haste to England, took to studying hard, and, ransacking the mines of science, came back here again, a graduate of Oxford and a man of good manners. From that day it was an easy matter to obtain election to the House of Assembly, where he holds a position of some distinction and controls a certain number of votes. He is looked upon as one of the members of the first Ministry which will be formed from the ranks of the Opposition. But his ambition does not stop there. He aims still higher. He hopes to enter the English Parliament, and who knows but that some day he will figure in the Queen's Cabinet? If he succeeds in so doing, he will not be the first who has reached that goal by passing through the Colonies. The path which he has taken, and means to take, marks him out to me as one of those many links, almost invisible to the naked eye, but which collectively form a bond strong enough to bind the colonies firmly to the mother country and the mother country to the colonies.'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CHAPTER XIII

THE DIAMOND INDUSTRY (1884-1888)

Rhodes at Kimberley—De Beers Mining Company—Local depression—Retains his faith—Merriman and Stow—J. B. Robinson—Mining Board debt—Rhodes and Barnato—Rhodes in Paris—Compagnie Française—Struggle with Barnato—Rhodes wins—Formation of De Beers Consolidated Mines—Comprehensive Trust Deed—Legal difficulties—Rhodes urged to confine himself to politics—Circumvents the Supreme Court—Discovery of alluvial gold—Mr. G. P. Moodie—Quartz mining—Discovery of conglomerate reefs—Foundation of Johannesburg—Rhodes acquires interests there.

DISPIRITED at his failure to move the Dutch phlegm of the Cape Parliament, Rhodes, at the close of the session of 1883, found no solace on returning to Kimberley. The place was indeed in a condition of gloom and despondency. The De Beers Mining Company, which he had founded three years earlier with a capital of £200,000, was slowly gathering strength, but its pecuniary position was not free from embarrassment, and to ordinary observers it gave, as yet, no sign of being the Aaron's Rod of the 'dry diggings.' It was not until 1885 that, by the absorption of additional 'claims,' it became a visibly important enterprise with a capital of £841,000. Meanwhile the permanence of the diamond industry was far from being assured. Thousands of energetic diggers were at work, sometimes buoyed up by high hopes, but oftener oppressed with care and anxiety. Only Rhodes, Barnato and a few other men preserved serenity of mind, and never permitted a doubt to overcloud their robust faith in ultimate success.

The Mining Board, which in 1874 replaced the old Diggers' Committee, seemed to have reached the end of its resources. It had done good work, but at disproportionate cost. Its power to levy rates had been used to the full and exhausted. For some time it had been issuing acceptances, and borrowing from the local Banks until its credit had become seriously weakened. The creditors were clamouring for payment. At one time the assistance of the Cape Government had been rather confidently relied on. But the expectation had been disappointed. During the session Mr. Merriman, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, had officially announced that no such aid would be forthcoming. The importance of preserving the greatest industry of the Colony was unrecognised, and, in fact, the Government were hard put to it themselves to maintain an equilibrium in their finances. The Diamond Mines were left, fortunately perhaps, to work out their own salvation. But a leading Editor remarked to me at the time that it was 'almost a toss up between a boom and bankruptcy.' It was the general conviction that as diamonds were only articles of luxury, appealing to a limited circle of wealthy purchasers, the markets of the world would soon be glutted, and the value of the stones seriously impaired. Fluctuations in value did occur, with an ever downward tendency, and the ultimate triumph of Rhodes over pessimistic criticism is due to the fact that he kept steadily in view the true remedy, amalgamation of interests and a restriction of the output, until the circle of his customers could be extended. But this process of consolidation, with its accompanying diminution of competition and regulation of production, took several years to accomplish. Meanwhile Rhodes pursued his course with dogged determina-

tion and, when interrogated on the point, always answered the question by asking another, 'When,' he would say, 'did you ever meet a woman who owned to having diamonds enough?'

But early in 1885 affairs appeared to be approaching a crisis. The Banks by this time had become, against their will, the compulsory owners of many mining claims on which they had advanced money. Their anxiety at the novel position in which they found themselves, and their determination to realise their securities at any sacrifice, were disturbing factors in the situation. Mr. J. X. Merriman, now out of office, came to Kimberley to study the question on the spot, and Mr.—afterwards Sir—Philipson-Stow, came out from England for the same purpose. Rhodes was at this time endeavouring to amalgamate the Anglo-African, Griqualand West, Hercules and other claims in the Du Toit's Pan Mines. Mr. J. B. Robinson, another leading claim-holder, was ostensibly in favour of the scheme, but Rhodes, rightly or wrongly, held that he was secretly working against it, and the conviction of his bad faith created a prejudice against him, which ripened into a standing feud. Meanwhile, a further heavy fall of reef in the De Beers Mine created some alarm in the minds of Rhodes's staunchest supporters. The growth of the Mining Board debt also caused grave anxiety. A leading claim-holder wrote to me on 29th April 1885, that an ominous whisper of repudiation was in the air. 'Application,' he wrote, 'should be made to Parliament for a short Act empowering a Commission to take evidence and give a final decision. It will be a disgrace to this place and to the Colony if repudiation is permitted. It is a queer thing to see —— countenancing such an iniquitous policy.'

It will be seen that the position of Rhodes was not an easy one. He had his full share of monetary troubles. Financially he was far less strong than Barnato, and the claims he had acquired in the De Beers Mine were poorer, claim for claim, than those held by his competitor in the Kimberley Mine. He had none of Barnato's light-hearted geniality or, as some called it, irresponsible frivolity. He possessed few intimate friends, and not even to all of them did he disclose his hand. Mere acquaintances disliked his moody silences, varied with fits of rather boisterous fun. They considered him exclusive, morose, rough and overbearing. And it must be admitted that he was a good hater, violent when thwarted, and at times blunt to the point of rudeness. It is difficult to be sufficiently unconventional to shock a mining camp, but he shocked it. In dress he was almost disreputable. He seldom took pains to ingratiate himself with any one, and a man who too openly scorns his fellows must expect to suffer social ostracism and to have his character traduced. It would be idle to deny that for a time there were unfavourable rumours in circulation regarding him, or that he was, in many circles, unpopular. But like Gallio he 'cared for none of those things.' Behind a mask of indifference, he strove strenuously for wealth, because wealth was power, and he coveted power in order to gain supremacy over rival interests, and because he aimed at making Kimberley a force to be reckoned with and a help to his ripening policy of Northern expansion. To superficial observers he was a cynical, surly dreamer. Only Jameson knew, and Beit and Rudd, and a very few others. To the rest of his little world he was an unknown quantity, and his manners were misliked, but few important transactions

were mooted without his being approached for assistance or advice.

While Rhodes was thus slowly but pertinaciously increasing his hold on the De Beers Mine by the purchase of claims which could no longer be advantageously worked by the individual digger, Barnato was pursuing an identical policy in regard to the Kimberley Mine. Both knew their own home ground thoroughly. 'Both,' as Raymond in his *Memoir of Barnato* says, 'were firmly convinced that the diamonds came from below and would be found richer in the greater depths, and each looked forward to the amalgamation of the Companies and interests surrounding him as the only practical means of reducing the costs and risks of mining. From 1881 the history of the one man is the history of the other, for they were advancing on converging lines which were, as yet, so far apart that they seemed to be parallel. Nothing is more certain than that neither Rhodes nor Barnato had any idea that they would be brought into direct opposition.'

A contest, however, was bound to come. When Rhodes was master in his own house at De Beers and Barnato was almost equally in control of the Kimberley Mine, the question of amalgamating the two companies was certain to arise. There could not be two kings at Brentford, nor could the output be regulated except by the absolute supremacy of one corporation. It was to be a fight to a finish. Barnato had the abilities necessary for the struggle, and financially he was the stronger, but there was one chink in his armour. He had failed to secure the important interests of the Compagnie Française in the Kimberley Mine, and without their co-operation his defences were incomplete. Rhodes grasped the position. On 6th July 1887, he

sailed from the Cape with a trusted engineer, arranged in London for the requisite financial support, and then, visiting Paris, purchased the entire assets of the French company for £1,400,000. This was a serious blow to his rival, whose only chance now was to induce shareholders to refuse to confirm the bargain made by their Board of Directors. Rhodes consequently returned to Kimberley, and after some desultory fighting, expensive to both sides, he seemed to lose heart and offered to cede the newly acquired claims to Barnato for the exact amount they had cost him, taking payment in shares of the Kimberley Mining Company. This was considered very generally as an acknowledgment of defeat. Barnato accepted the offer with effusion, and the honours rested, or seemed to rest, with him. But only for a moment. Rhodes loved 'playing the game' and was never more formidable than when his back was to the wall. The transaction gave him a very large shareholding in the Kimberley Mine. This he increased steadily by further purchases. One by one Barnato's supporters sold their holdings to the new bidder, until the latter held a majority which gave him a controlling interest in the Mine. Barnato was, to use his own expression, 'bested,' and he surrendered with a good grace. The whole story is well told by Mr. Gardiner Williams and Mr. Harry Raymond. If Rhodes's sole title to fame rested on his success in saving a great industry from ruinous competition and inevitable extinction, this biography would scarcely be justified. Many a business man has performed an equally serviceable feat. The desire to accumulate riches is a splendid spur to energy, but the general public are only indirectly concerned in the matter. If Rhodes is to live in history, it is not his wealth, but his use of it, that interests us.

And it is to his public rather than to his private career I desire to draw attention. To acquire wealth is easy to a certain order of mind. But the devotion of great wealth to public purposes is much rarer, and had Rhodes never made a fortune by his far-sightedness, to him would still belong the honour of having striven, with extraordinary vehemence of will, to promote the interests of his country. He made mistakes, but he redeemed them, and in season and out of season his thoughts were directed towards the consolidation, not merely of ephemeral business interests, but of the interests of the Anglo-Saxon race. When later, at Windsor, the Queen asked him, 'And what are you doing in Africa, Mr. Rhodes?' his characteristic reply was, 'Extending Your Majesty's dominions, madam.'

It was on the same occasion, and therefore may be mentioned here, that the Queen said, 'They say, Mr. Rhodes, you are a woman-hater. I hope it is not true?' and received the somewhat evasive reply, 'How could I hate a sex to which Your Majesty belongs?'

No sooner had Rhodes and Barnato joined forces to found the De Beers Consolidation Mines than a fresh difficulty arose over the drafting of the Trust Deed. In those days it was customary for Charters and Trust Deeds to limit specifically the powers conferred on their holders, all acts outside these powers being liable, in certain contingencies, to be treated as *ultra vires*.

Barnato desired to have a Trust Deed for Diamond Mining and for nothing else. There is much to be said for the practice, but Rhodes would have none of it. He declined to be fettered by antiquated restrictions. His idea was that the Company should be legally capable of carrying out any business in the world not in itself unlawful. The contest again was a stubborn one.

When, in the crisis of the fight, Rhodes absented himself from the negotiations in order to sit for days by the bedside of his dying secretary, Neville Pickering, it looked to many men as if the great project would be wrecked in sight of port. But ultimately Rhodes resumed the suspended conference, and after an all-night sitting his iron will prevailed, Barnato gave way with the remark, 'You have a fancy for building an empire in the North, and I suppose you must have your way.' Under these circumstances, that great Corporation, De Beers Consolidated Mines, came into existence, being registered at Kimberley on 13th March 1888.

The Trust Deed placed no restrictions on the Directors as to the extent of the capital. The Company was empowered to shift its headquarters to any place on the habitable globe. It could acquire any asset it pleased by purchase, amalgamation, grant, concession, lease, licence, barter, or otherwise. It could hold houses, lands, farms, tracts of country, quarries, mines, water-rights, privileges, waterworks, hereditaments and otherwise. It could deal in diamonds and all precious stones, gold and other minerals, ores, coals, earth and any other valuable product or substance, and also in machinery, plant, utensils, trade marks, patents for inventions, and all other property, movable and immovable, in Africa or elsewhere. It could carry on a mining, trading or other business anywhere in the world, construct, maintain and operate tramways, railways, roads, tunnels, canals, gasworks, electric works, reservoirs, water-courses, furnaces, smelting works, factories and any other works 'conducive to any of its objects.' It could promote, form, undertake and establish any institutions or companies (trading, manufacturing, banking or other) calculated to ad-

vantage the Company. And lastly, it could acquire 'tracts of country' in Africa or elsewhere, together with any rights that might be granted by the rulers thereof, and expend thereon any sums deemed requisite for the maintenance and good government thereof.

I have quoted only a few of the powers taken by Rhodes. No wonder Barnato hesitated for a while to link his fortunes with such a company. The very lawyer who drew up the deed was appalled by its comprehensiveness. Nor have the wide powers been a dead letter. The Company has built railways, tram-lines and roads, established immense dynamite works, electric and other factories, model villages, cattle ranches, fruit farms and in a hundred ways availed itself of the latitude given to it in its Trust Deed. Only four men really combined to form the Corporation—Rhodes, Barnato, Beit and Stow. Between them they held all but an infinitesimal fraction of the shares, and they created themselves Life Governors and Directors of the Company with power to appoint a fifth. One further difficulty, a legal one, remained. Some dissentient shareholders in the Kimberley Mining Company protested against amalgamation with a corporation which was not 'a similar company.' It certainly was not by any means a similar company. The objectors carried their case to the Supreme Court and won it. Their counsel, Mr.—now Sir James—Rose-Innes, is reported to have said (20th August 1888), 'The Company, my Lord, can do anything and everything. Since the time of the East India Company, no company has had such power as this. They are not confined to Africa: they are authorised to take steps for the good government of any country,

so that, if they obtain a charter from the Secretary of State, they could annex a portion of territory in Central Africa, raise and maintain a standing army, and undertake warlike operations. Yet it is argued that this Company is formed for the same purpose as the Central Company which digs for diamonds in the Kimberley Mine.'

The Court held, very naturally, that the De Beers Consolidated Mines, being a Company with powers as extensive as those of any company that ever existed, was not an ordinary Diamond Mining Company 'of a similar nature' to the Central Company and, therefore, that the Directors of the latter could not legally amalgamate with the former. This appeared at first sight a decided check, and Rhodes's friends seemed to have hoped he would now pay closer attention to politics. I find Sauer, for instance, writing to him on 10th September 1888, 'I am of opinion you should give your time and attention to other things than mining: I mean, of course, to the politics of this Colony and the States adjoining—in fact, the whole of South Africa. Things cannot go on as they have been for the last four years. Assuming that the relative strength of parties will remain as at present, it will mean that office and power are separated. Hofmeyr's decision not to take office I regret exceedingly. The elections are moving along slowly, and I don't yet know who all the candidates are.'

There would appear to have been a rumour that Merriman, whose versatility was already acknowledged, might abandon his friends and join Sprigg, if the latter's overthrow was found impracticable. On 3rd October Hofmeyr writes to Rhodes, 'I should like Merriman to offer to enter Sprigg's Ministry. I fancy he would

meet with a reception which even he would not soon forget.'

Rhodes, however, was not to be diverted from his determination to consolidate diamond interests. He at once ran the proverbial coach and four through the judgment of the Supreme Court by placing the Central Company in liquidation, and purchasing all its assets for the De Beers Company. 'If,' he used to say, 'you cannot manage a thing one way, try another.' In this way, court or no court, the amalgamation of the Mines was carried to a conclusion on 29th January 1889. And thus the eighties drew to a close. The industry was saved and Rhodes found himself, at the age of thirty-six, the guiding spirit of the largest corporation in the world.

It must not, however, be inferred that the amalgamation of interests was locally popular. The reduction of expenditure told heavily on certain sections of the population, and Rhodes's life was so seriously endangered that his friends, unknown to him, placed him for some time under police protection.

The whole of his time was not, however, devoted to this great work. Every year from 1882 to 1888, both inclusive, he attended the sittings of the House of Assembly in Cape Town, speaking with increasing weight and frequency. Nor were his energies confined to Parliament. Throughout the period I have just narrated, another industry was arising in South Africa, destined in its magnitude to dwarf even the diamond industry at Kimberley. For many years alluvial gold had been worked at various points in the Northern Transvaal. In 1882, Mr. G. P. Moodie, an ex-Surveyor-General of that territory, who had acquired a block of farms on the De Kaap range, threw them open to

prospectors, with the result of founding the town of Barberton. Quartz mining became an accomplished fact, and in November 1884, the district was proclaimed a public gold field, and in 1886 the Sheba Mine of extraordinary richness was discovered.

But both alluvial and quartz mining were soon to be thrown into the shade. When leaving Pretoria in 1881, after signing the Convention, Sir Hercules Robinson, accompanied by the Imperial Secretary, Captain—now Sir—Graham Bower, rode across country to Bloemfontein. Reining in their tired horses on the summit of a bleak and elevated ridge of almost uninhabited country, Sir Hercules observed to his companion, 'If we were in Australia, Bower, what would you say of this formation? Would you not prospect for gold?' The formation was the conglomerate or banket series of the Witwatersrand, in the centre of which now stands the world-famed town of Johannesburg. For several years more it lay there undiscovered until it was 'rushed' by enterprising diggers, many of them from Kimberley, and on 20th September 1886, it was declared to be a public gold field. Mr. Rudd, Rhodes's partner, who from 1883 to 1888 represented Kimberley in the House of Assembly, proceeded to the Rand, where the two men acquired valuable interests and founded, in 1886, a great corporation, still in existence, the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, and several smaller companies, to one of which Rhodes gave the name of his old College.

But I must now revert to the Parliamentary situation in the Cape Colony.

CHAPTER XIV

PARLIAMENTARY LIFE (1884-1885)

Fall of Scanlen Ministry—Upington Prime Minister—Basutoland and Bechuanaland again—Rev. John Mackenzie—Rhodes on the trade route—Sir Hercules Robinson—Kruger's Proclamation—The Warren Expedition—Warren and the High Commissioner—Rhodes and Warren—Rhodes meets Kruger—Dr. Leyds—Debate in the Assembly—Secretary of State upholds Rhodes.

THE Scanlen Ministry, succeeding to place, if not to power, on the fall of the Sprigg Administration in 1881, were now visibly weak. Hofmeyr had for six months been a member of the Cabinet without portfolio, but had retired on the ground of ill-health. Sauer and Merriman remained, but the Ministry as a whole were unfavourably regarded as too British to suit the rising power of the Bond. When, upon the 19th March, the Treasurer of the Colony resigned, the Premier, looking around for a strong man, offered the post to Rhodes, by whom it was accepted. His tenure of the office was short-lived. The Dutch party in the house could not brook the Premier's affront in supporting, however timidly, Her Majesty's Government in its Bechuanaland policy. Not caring, however, to play with their cards upon the table, they censured the Ministry for declining to prohibit the importation of seed potatoes, a step which they professed to think would expose Cape vineyards to the much-dreaded phylloxera. With any stick one may beat a dog. Nobody seriously thought that phylloxera could be conveyed on a tuber, but the excuse served, and on 12th May, 1884, Scanlen

resigned. The Bond, while tenacious of power, had never been greedy for office and the direct responsibility it entails. They, therefore, declined to form a Ministry, and the task was assigned to Sir Thomas Upington. The administration thus constructed was of a type generally associated with the name of a warming-pan. Rhodes became one of the opposition leaders, and in that capacity delivered, on 9th June, a scathing criticism of the taxing measures of his successor.

Throughout 1884-85, the affairs both of Basutoland and Bechuanaland continued to cause anxiety. Brand was frequently under the necessity of contenting his burghers by entering protests against the alleged unrest in Basutoland. On 15th January 1884, he telegraphed to General Smyth that Joel and Masupha had gathered armed forces around them and were bent on creating a breach of the peace. Ten days later, the Colonial Office displaced Captain Blyth, C.M.G., the experienced Colonial officer hitherto acting as Resident. Colonel —now Sir—Marshal Clarke, R.A., who had seen service in the Transvaal, was appointed to the office. It was a dangerous experiment, but, thanks to the ability and discretion of the newcomer, it gradually succeeded. On 19th March there was an impressive leave-taking, when Letsie, addressing the departing Resident in full Pitso, warmly thanked him for his eminent services. 'You have done great good,' he said, 'go in peace.'

For many months Brand lost no opportunity of directing attention to the unsettled condition of the tribe under Imperial rule, the moral sought to be enforced being that the Basutos, under the sway of the Free State, would be far more effectively controlled. On 15th July he complained direct to Sir Hercules Robinson that he had been forced to call out a Burgher Com-

mando to protect his borders. A few days later, Clarke, on being interrogated, declared that the unrest was due to the action of the Free State in encroaching on Baralong territory. The President returned to the charge again and again, but in November the High Commissioner, in a published Despatch to the Secretary of State, warmly defended the administration of his subordinate. Throughout the early months of 1885 the representations of Brand were incessant, and on 21st January, the High Commissioner, writing to Lord Derby, forwarded an enclosure from Clarke stating that Masupha's excuse for arming was summed up in his own words, 'The Boers tell me night and day that British troops are on their way to Basutoland.' Fortunately, however, tact and firmness prevailed. The High Commissioner, whose fund of common sense was enormous, refused to be rushed, and the situation gradually solved itself without recourse to arms. The condition of Bechuanaland was more alarming. The territory was fairly well known in England owing to the travels of Burchell, Moffat, Oswell, Gordon-Cumming, Hepburn, Mackenzie and Selous. Livingstone himself at an earlier date had sounded a note of warning. 'The Boers,' he wrote, 'resolved to shut up the interior, and I to open it. We shall see who succeeds, they or I.' On 27th February 1884, the Convention of London, modifying that of Pretoria, was signed. If the British authorities believed their further concessions would restrain the Transvaal from prosecuting plans of aggression, they were speedily undeceived. In two days Kruger raided East and West in support of his freebooters in Zululand and Bechuanaland. His policy was severely condemned by Mr. Merriman in a speech delivered at Graham's Town the following year. 'From

the time,' he said, 'the Convention was signed, the policy of the Transvaal was to push out bands of freebooters, and to get them involved in quarrels with the natives. They wished to push their border over the land westwards and realise the dream of President Pretorius, which was that the Transvaal should stretch from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. The result was robbery, rapine and murder.'

This defiance by the President was too much for the High Commissioner. Captain Bower was sent up to Taungs, arriving there on the 12th March. A proclamation followed, formally annexing Bechuanaland, and appointing a Resident in the person of the Rev. John Mackenzie, a veteran missionary but not in all respects a judicious political agent. On 11th July the High Commissioner cabled to the Secretary of State for funds wherewith to raise one hundred mounted police to check cattle-raiding. For once Lord Derby made up his mind with almost indecent haste, and forwarded £10,000 on the following day. On 15th July Sir Hercules again cabled to say that Mackenzie now requisitioned for two hundred men, which he did not recommend, adding that in his opinion all the cattle owned by Mankoroane and Montsoia were not worth the expenditure involved, and he went on to complain that he experienced great difficulty in obtaining facts from the Resident Commissioner, but, for his part, he thought he could rely on the loyalty of Stellaland burghers, seeing how justly they had been treated by Rhodes. Reading between the lines, one sees that His Excellency was losing confidence in Mackenzie.

Matters were in this critical position when, on 16th July, Rhodes rose in the House of Assembly to make one more appeal to members to take a broad and

statesmanlike view of the situation. Speaking of this speech an official of the House says, 'It was in the old House in the Good Hope Lodge—the last session there. Rhodes stood with his back to the wall, on the Speaker's left. He spoke with great power and conviction, still pointing a warning and prophetic finger to the North. It is impossible to read the speech without being struck with its marvellous foresight.'

On this particular occasion he argued forcibly against a policy of drift. 'Is this House prepared,' he said, 'to allow these petty Republics to form a wall across our trade route? Are we to allow the Transvaal and its allies to acquire the whole of the interior? Bechuanaland is the neck of the bottle and commands the route to the Zambesi. We must secure it, unless we are prepared to see the whole of the North pass out of our hands. I do not want to part with the key of the interior, leaving us settled just on this small peninsula. I want the Cape Colony to be able to deal with the question of confederation as the dominant State of South Africa.'

His appeal did not commend itself to those whose definite policy was to aggrandise the Dutch Republics, but the majority of the House concurred with Rhodes in desiring to retain the Hinterland for the Cape Colony. Fortunately, also, there was one man in South Africa who not only recognised the strength of Rhodes's argument, but who had the will and the power to help him. In the long roll of illustrious public servants who have striven to protect the rights of the Crown in South Africa, there is no name more entitled to honour than that of Sir Hercules Robinson. His second term of office was not an unqualified success, for he was then broken by age and infirmity. The appointment was

none of his seeking, and he only yielded against his better judgment to pressure from the highest quarters. There is an element of pathos in his visit to Pretoria after the Raid, when, in enfeebled health and accompanied by a trained nurse, he was called upon to conduct the most delicate negotiations with the wily Boer President flushed with a recent moral and material victory. But in 1884 he was in the prime of life, a man of fine presence, stately dignity, pleasant address, sound business and diplomatic instincts and, withal, cool, wary and sagacious in judgment. As Governor of the Cape his powers were constitutionally limited, and the Dutch party in Parliament were often beyond the range of his influence; but as the High Commissioner he possessed wide and undefined authority, capable, in hands as firm as his, of producing striking results. Distrusting the goodwill of the Cape Government to act loyally on the policy of Rhodes, he took immediate steps to protect its interests. On 19th July Major Lowe, the Assistant Commissioner under Mackenzie, was warned that the border police just raised might not improbably be attacked on their way to Taungs, and Captain Dawkins was sent up to Kimberley to buy additional horses. Lowe reported that Mackenzie was organising forces in excess of instructions. The High Commissioner, distrusting Mackenzie's discretion, recalled him to Cape Town, ostensibly for conference, and offered the post to Rhodes with the title of Deputy Commissioner. The offer was at once accepted, and within a fortnight of his speech in the House, Rhodes was on the Border.

On 30th July the High Commissioner wired to Lowe not to move a policeman without Rhodes's instructions and, as a further precaution, the message was repeated

the following day through Captain Dawkins. During August Rhodes kept the High Commissioner fully advised of his proceedings. On 25th August, he and General Joubert arrived at Rooi-Grond together. His reception was a hostile one, as Joubert, and De la Rey, who was with him, exercised a strong influence on the freebooters of Goshen, who were nearly all Transvaal burghers. In the very presence of the Deputy Commissioner a force started that night to attack Mafeking and drive out Montsoia. Rhodes had no force and, therefore, adopted the only course open to him, of retiring from the Territory after warning the Boers that they were transgressing the terms of the London Convention, and were thus virtually at war with Her Majesty's Government. On 1st September he arrived at Commando Drift, and on 8th September he came to an amicable and satisfactory arrangement with the Stellalanders, whose titles he again frankly recognised with His Excellency's entire approval. On this crucial point Mackenzie had created a disquieting feeling by proclaiming all the farms to be the property of H.M. Government. The settlers, on the other hand, again accepted the flag, and the terms offered of local self-government pending annexation. The peril was averted. Van Niekerk, the Boer Commandant, at public meetings held at Vryburg on 22nd March and 10th May, had absolutely declined to acknowledge Mackenzie as Resident, whereas, early in September, Rhodes was able to report that the armed burghers —400 in number—had dispersed, and that he left the Territory amid cheers for the Queen.

Meanwhile Joubert had returned to Pretoria, and on 16th September Kruger published a proclamation in the *Official Gazette* annexing the whole of Montsoia's

territory 'in the interests of humanity,' thus cutting the Cape Colony entirely off from access to the North. This was too much for the High Commissioner, who, on 8th October, was able to inform Kruger that he had received instructions from Lord Derby to state that Her Majesty's Government regarded the proclamation as a breach of the Convention, and required its withdrawal. Had the protest been unaccompanied by a show of force, the Transvaal would not improbably have defied it, or entered upon a prolonged negotiation to gain time. But Sir Hercules Robinson, acting on the advice of Rhodes, meant business. Immediate steps were taken to strengthen the Cape garrison. The spirit of Cape loyalists was aroused. At a mass meeting held in Cape Town strong resolutions were adopted in favour of Imperial intervention. The Bond leaders threatened armed resistance on the part of their friends. But H.M. Government stood firm, and it was announced that they intended to send a strong expedition to Bechuanaland under Sir Charles Warren, who had already seen service in South Africa. On 10th November, his commission as Special Commissioner was signed, and in a letter from the Colonial Office of even date he was instructed to clear out the filibusters, restore order, reinstate the evicted natives, prevent further depredations and hold the country for the Crown. It was also intimated to the Transvaal that they would be held responsible for the expense of the expedition. Kruger's first open attempt to thwart the policy of Rhodes thus met with a signal repulse.

Her Majesty's Government was for once in earnest. Under date the 26th November 1884, Ernest Rhodes writes to his brother to say that the expeditionary

force would consist at the outset of 8000 men, but would be raised to 20,000 if necessary. He adds the interesting family item of news that all three brothers had received their company, he himself being gazetted Captain on 12th September, Frank (then at Dongola), 15th October, and Elmhirst on 16th October. 'Close running,' he remarks.

Early in December, Warren reached Cape Town and had an interview with the High Commissioner, the nature of which I give in the latter's own words.

'On the afternoon of the 6th December Sir Charles Warren had an interview with me which lasted for more than an hour, during which we discussed very fully in all its bearings the mission on which he was proceeding. I pointed out what I understood to be the position in Goshen, and the possible assistance which might be given to the freebooters of Rooi-Grond by their sympathisers in the Transvaal and Free State. I then alluded to Stellaland, which was at that moment in a quiet state, and remarked upon the importance of preventing the Stellalanders either joining the Goshenites or interfering with the troops passing through their country for Rooi-Grond. Sir Charles Warren inquired how this very desirable result could be effected, and I replied that if I were in his position I should at once take two steps: (1) I should invite Mr. Rhodes, who had come down to Cape Town, to return to Stellaland with a view of keeping that country quiet until the troops had passed through on their way to Goshen; (2) I should telegraph to Mr. Niekerk that we were prepared to adhere to the terms of the agreement of the 8th September, provided it was respected by the people of Stellaland. I added that I thought if the Stellaland people saw that their land titles which had

been promised to them were safe, they would not jeopardise their claims by interfering with the passage of troops through the country. Sir Charles Warren at once replied that he was prepared to adopt both suggestions; but added that he feared Mr. Rhodes, whom he had seen, would not care to return to Stella-land. I said I thought he would consent to do so; that he had undertaken so far a disagreeable and thankless duty at great personal inconvenience, and without remuneration; and that if he were told that he could still be of public service, I felt sure he would not allow any personal considerations, such as a contemplated visit to England, to interfere. It was arranged that Mr. Rhodes should be asked, and Sir Charles Warren then inquired as to the terms of the telegram, which I had suggested should be sent to Mr. Niekerk. I drafted a telegram, with which he expressed himself satisfied, and said he was ready to transmit it. I suggested he might take a night to consider it, as I was not anxious to hurry him into decision. He replied that he had made up his mind, and required no time for consideration. I commenced pointing out to him the nature of the agreement of the 8th September, and the points upon which it differed from Mr. Mackenzie's previous agreement, which was cancelled by it. He appeared a little impatient with these explanations, and said he knew all about Mr. Rhodes's agreement, having read it carefully in the Blue-book on his passage out. I again suggested that he should think well over the telegram before despatching it, at which he evinced a little irritation, remarking that when he had come to a decision he was not in the habit of reconsidering it.'

It is important to remember this interview, as bearing

on the serious differences of opinion which occurred, later on, between Rhodes and Warren.

Meanwhile, the latter proceeded to his destination, having with him a picked force of 4000 men, of whom one half were regular troops. Kruger was evidently alarmed at the turn affairs had taken, and especially at being held responsible for the cost of the expedition. His finances were already in disorder. Towards the end of 1884 the credit of the Boer Government was at a low ebb, and the President, in a conciliatory mood, offered to meet Warren at Fourteen Streams on the Border, to discuss boundary questions in a friendly way, with a view to avoid the necessity of the further progress of the expedition. Early in 1885, the interview took place. A summary of Mr. Rhodes's account of it, sent to the High Commissioner, is as follows (Bechuanaland Blue Book, C4432) :—

'From the time of Sir Charles Warren's arrival on the Border, communications of such a nature began to reach me day by day, that I proceeded to Barkly West to confer with the Special Commissioner, with a view to remove misconceptions under which he was evidently labouring. I reached Barkly West on 21st January, and at once perceived that the General's irritation was due to an impression on his part that I was not acting in a sufficient degree of subordination to himself. He went so far, indeed, as to threaten resignation if some change were not made in my official status. As my sole desire was to assist him in his task, I had no hesitation in assuring him of my readiness to act directly under him instead of under your Excellency, whose commission I held, but on the understanding that the engagements entered into with the people of Stellaland should not be disturbed. From Barkly West I pro-

ceeded with the Special Commissioner, at his request, to meet President Kruger at Fourteen Streams. Mr. Mackenzie was also of the party, and I ventured upon representing to Sir Charles Warren that I did not think the presence of that gentleman at the conference would be calculated either to forward negotiations or promote a good personal understanding between ourselves and the representatives of the South African Republic. The General, in the exercise of his discretion, did not think well to be guided by my advice, and in the result it became fully apparent that the presence of Mr. Mackenzie at the conference was provocative of much suspicion and irritation on the part of President Kruger and his advisers. The President, again, had invited us to a friendly conference, and it had been agreed that both parties should be accompanied to Fourteen Streams by nothing more than a personal escort. There was never the slightest reason—none at any rate with which I was acquainted—to fear that an act of treachery was in contemplation, and the fact of our moving to the place of meeting as though we were in an enemy's country, with scouts in advance, and skirmishers thrown out on either side, was not only to my mind ridiculous in itself, but suggested a feeling of distrust which was deeply wounding, and justly so, to the susceptibilities of Mr. Kruger and the officers of his Government by whom he was accompanied. The Special Commissioner arrived at Vryburg on the 7th February, and on the 14th he met the burghers who had come into camp in response to his invitation. His speech on that occasion was devoted mainly to the question of land titles, and here again I found it utterly impossible to concur in the line which the Special Commissioner pursued. Stellaland, with the exception

of its southern boundary, had never been accurately defined, and on that side where a line had been laid down, on the recognition of which the integrity of the Commando Drift Agreement to a great extent depended, Sir Charles publicly intimated his intention of prescribing an entirely different boundary. The effect of this intimation was to nullify to the extent of a considerable number of farms the assurances of the 8th September, frequently repeated, that all duly issued land titles within the recognised limits of Stellaland would be regarded as binding and valid. The action of Sir Charles in repudiating the line agreed upon by a joint Commission I could only regard as a breach of faith.'

The letter to the High Commissioner from which I have quoted was a very lengthy one, and closed with an offer of resignation. It seems clear that Rhodes was much moved, and for a while contemplated the abandonment of Colonial politics. 'I hear from our sisters,' writes Ernest from the Melbourne Club, 24th November 1885, 'that you are thinking of going round the world.'

It is evident that Warren was profoundly jealous of his masterful subordinate, and, while an excellent military officer, was unable to grasp the necessity of accepting the situation so far as it had already received official sanction. Rhodes, however, was supported by the High Commissioner, and his view was upheld by Lord Derby who, in a Despatch dated 30th May, laid it down that the Stellaland titles were to be generally recognised and maintained, except in cases of flagrant coercion. The interview with Kruger, though marred by the unreasonable attitude of the British Commander, was noteworthy for several reasons. It was the first

occasion on which Rhodes and Kruger met. Until then neither knew the other's strength. Rhodes came away with a feeling of sincere admiration for the abilities of the Boer President and playfully described himself as 'one of the young Burghers.' Kruger, who knew a man when he saw him, instinctively recognised in Rhodes a formidable opponent. It may also be noted as the first appearance in South African affairs of a young man, twenty-six years of age, who accompanied Kruger in the capacity of secretary. Dr. Leyds, of Dutch descent but born in Java, was a brilliant diplomatist, suave and polished in manner and of great intellectual power, and he subsequently came to exercise supreme influence over the mind of the President, an influence which in the long-run cost the Republic its independence. At the conference, Kruger protested that he had been powerless to check the raiders except by annexation. Rhodes, however, with not unnatural heat, exclaimed, 'I blame only one man for the events that followed my arrival at Rooi-Grond, and that is Joubert. Why is he not here to answer for himself?' There was not, and there could not be, any satisfactory answer to this question, but Kruger readily agreed that Rhodes, accompanied by Leyds, should proceed to Stellaland to settle as to who was responsible for the cattle-raiding there, and he frankly promised to enforce their award against his own Burghers.

On completion of this work Rhodes returned to Kimberley, and on the 19th May 1885, he left there to attend the Cape Parliament. It was in those days still an arduous journey, railway communication not being opened till the following November. It is beyond my purpose to deal further with the Warren Expedition,

which cost the British taxpayer £1,500,000, none of which was ever recovered from the Transvaal. The result was to check Boer aggression for a time and to define our boundaries with greater precision. All Bechuanaland south of the Molopo, and including the Kalahari, was formed into British Bechuanaland. The remainder of the territory to the north was declared a Protectorate. The route to the North was saved. Despite the puerilities of the Cape Parliament and the eccentricities of Warren, Rhodes triumphed. The Special Commissioner in his way also triumphed, for he checkmated the Boers without bloodshed. On the 24th September he sailed for England. Prior to leaving, he visited Khama, who occupied an extensive territory from the western Matabele border to Lake Ngami. That chief, always with a leaning to civilisation, offered his domains to the Imperial Government, but the cold fit was already on us, and his overtures were rejected.

On the 30th June, three months before Warren left, Sir Thomas Scanlen raised an important debate in the Cape Assembly by moving for copies of all correspondence between the Governor and his Ministers on the subject of Bechuanaland, with special reference to the resignation of the Deputy Commissioner. Rhodes made a masterly and illuminating speech on the occasion, which will be found in 'Vindex.' I need only quote his concluding words :—

'When I went to Kimberley I saw a report in the papers of the settlement proposed by Sir Charles Warren, which contained a provision that no man but those of English descent should have a grant of land in the country. If this question had been raised by my honourable friends opposite, they might have been

charged with trying to get up a question of race distinction. I think all would recognise that I am an Englishman, and one of my strongest feelings is loyalty to my own country. If the report of such a condition in the settlement by Sir Charles Warren is correct, that no man of Dutch descent is to have a farm, it would be better for the English colonists to retire. I remember, when a youngster, reading in my English history that the supremacy of my country was due to its adherence to two cardinal axioms; that the word of the nation, when once pledged, was never broken, and that when a man accepted the citizenship of the British Empire, there was no distinction between races. It has been my misfortune in one year to meet with the breach of one and the proposed breach of the other. The result will be that when the troops are gone, we shall have to deal with sullen feeling, discontent and hostility. The proposed settlement of Bechuanaland is based on the exclusion of colonists of Dutch descent. I raise my voice in most solemn protest against such a course, and it is the duty of every Englishman in the House to record his protest against it. In conclusion, I wish to say that the breach of solemn pledges and the introduction of race distinctions must result in bringing calamity on this country, and if such a policy is pursued it will endanger the whole of our social relationship with colonists of Dutch descent, and endanger the supremacy of Her Majesty in this country.'

It would be difficult to sum up the situation more effectively.

The Secretary of State sided entirely with Rhodes in the line he had taken up, and his Despatch, No. 17 of 16th September 1886, to the High Commissioner, gave adequate expression to this view. In handing

Rhodes a copy of the Despatch, the Imperial Secretary wrote as follows :—

'GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN,
13*th October* 1886.

'SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the High Commissioner to enclose for your information a copy of a despatch which he has received from the Secretary of State acknowledging the honourable and valuable public services gratuitously rendered by you at a critical time in the affairs of Bechuanaland.

'His Excellency desires at the same time to express his own grateful appreciation of the disinterested and effective assistance which you rendered to him at that juncture.—I have, etc.,

(*Sd.*) 'GRAHAM BOWER.
Imperial Secretary.

'The Hon. CECIL J. RHODES, M.L.A.,
Kimberley.'

CHAPTER XV

PARLIAMENTARY LIFE (1885-1886)—*Continued*

Finances of Transvaal—Arrival of Hollanders—Closer Union with Free State—Growth of unrest—Transvaal Franchise—German annexations—Transvaal Railway Concession—Scramble for Africa—Dilke on Rhodes—Rhodes writes to Lord Harris—Session of 1886—Eastern Pondoland—Merriman on Responsible Government—Rhodes on Religious Education—Sunday trains—Rhodes on the Sinking Fund—On Irrigation—On the Excise—On treatment of Interior States—On Protection—Rhodes in Pretoria.

I HAVE already mentioned that early in 1885 the finances of the Transvaal were seriously embarrassed. A crisis was only averted by the discovery of payable gold. But for the Uitlander, the ship of State would have been driven on the rocks. President Kruger had other anxieties of a domestic nature, one of which is touched on in the subjoined extract from a Transvaal correspondent, which bears date January 8th. 'The President is doing everything in his power to prevent further complications. He has lost a good deal of influence in consequence. The Doppers still believe heartily in him, but many of the ordinary Boers are for putting Joubert in his place. It would not surprise me were he called on to resign. An attempt will be made to re-elect Joubert as Commandant-General, but he is playing a deep game and assures me that he will not accept office under the present Government. There are many people here who would like to bring about a renewal of hostilities. The imported Hollanders especially, are fishing in troubled waters. The *Volkstem*

allows no opportunity to pass of impressing on its readers that they have the Lord on their side, and the Boer is a firm believer in Divine intervention.'

It is not customary to give Kruger the credit of ever being a restraining force, but South African history cannot be read in its true perspective without clear recognition of the fact that the President was at times the sport of circumstance and driven into difficult positions, of which, in his sober judgment, he disapproved. But no man is, at all times, his own master. In a letter received from Sir Hercules Robinson in July 1885, I observe that he deplores the unsatisfactory financial condition of the Republic, and alludes with regret to the rumour then in circulation, that the unsold lands of the State were about to be mortgaged to a private money-lender.

In 1886 the Transvaal again made overtures to the Free State for closer union, but their proposals were declined by the latter under the advice of Brand, who was still resolutely bent on not being entangled in the complications with the Paramount Power, which he clearly foresaw. In the same year, Her Majesty's Government recognised the new Boer Republic in Zululand, which was, a year or so later, annexed to the Transvaal. Slowly, and almost silently, the struggle for supremacy between the two white races in South Africa was gathering to a head. Some years were yet to elapse before the final conflict took place, but already, as my correspondence amply shows, it was foreseen. Consciously on the part of the leaders on both sides; unconsciously on the part of the rank and file, events were marshalling themselves for the great contest. Alike amid triumphs and temporary rebuffs, Kruger kept his eye steadily on the object he had in view.

It was his misfortune that his mind dwelt more on the weakness of successive British Governments, than on the stubborn character of the race they represented.

Rhodes had, for the moment, preserved our right of access to the North, and was steadily endeavouring to convince the Dutch-speaking colonists of the Cape that their primary duty was to their own Colony rather than to their Transvaal cousins. But his success was precarious. Kruger strove to keep alive the Republican elements in the whole country, and was solicitous to hold down the British and foreign citizens now flocking into his state in search of gold. It was a conflict of ambitions and ideals, to be solved by the sword. In 1874, the Transvaal franchise, hitherto free to all comers, was amended so as to require landless men to have one year's residential qualifications. In 1882 the period was raised to five years, and in 1887 to fifteen years. I am not blaming aspirations but recording facts. Under all the circumstances, instinctive efforts for self-preservation were natural and even praiseworthy. It was only when these efforts went farther and were directed towards obtaining mastery from the mountains to the sea, that serious trouble arose.

The introduction of a third factor in the internal affairs of South Africa must not be wholly disregarded. The Upington Ministry (1884-86), which maintained itself in office by the grace of the Bond, must, in justice, bear the main blame of permitting Germany to secure a footing on the sub-continent. The story need only be briefly touched upon here.[1] In January 1884,

[1] Herr Luderitz of Bremen had obtained in 1882 by treaties with native chiefs a considerable area of land around Angra Pequina, and was desirous of knowing on what exact footing he stood.

Her Majesty's Government, under quite legitimate pressure from Bismarck, had informed the Scanlen Administration that Germany desired to know whether her numerous subjects trading in South-West Africa were, or were not, assured of Colonial protection in case of need. Rhodes himself was a subordinate member of that Ministry for some weeks (20th March to 12th May), but it is believed that the Premier could not be brought to realise the urgency of the question. In any case the Ministry went out of office without replying. On 29th May the new Premier, Upington, gave a vague and unsatisfactory reply to the Despatch. Bismarck again pressed for assurances,[1] and on 21st June Her Majesty's Government felt bound to admit that Germany would be within her rights if she took independent action. The Cape Colony had already, some years before, annexed Walfisch Bay, the only practicable port of entry to the territory, but Her Majesty's Government, though strongly pressed by Sir Bartle Frere to do so, declined to annex the Hinterland. Now, on the 16th July, the Cape formally claimed the country, but before she could follow up this step by effective occupation, the German flag was hoisted at Angra Pequina, and all Damaraland and Namaqualand between 26 degrees south and the Portuguese border, an area of over 320,000 square miles, became a domain of the German Empire. Futile protests were subsequently made, but, for good or ill, Germany had definitely undertaken her share of the white man's burden in South Africa. It was a striking warning, not lost upon those who saw beyond the

[1] Failing to secure which he cabled to the German Consul-General in Cape Town on 24th April declaring that Luderitz and his possessions could rely on German protection.

ephemeral politics of the day. Within a fortnight, on the 23rd August, the Transvaal Volksraad gave to a group of German and Dutch capitalists the exclusive right to construct railways within the Republic, a decision that immensely increased foreign prestige at our expense. In September, Germany attempted to gain a substantial footing on the East Coast of Africa by occupying St. Lucia Bay in Zululand, but on the 13th November Sir Henry Bulwer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, relying on a cession of the port to Great Britain by Panda in 1843, hoisted our flag there and thus preserved the territory. The scramble for Africa had now fully developed, and the Cape Colony, before the year closed, formally annexed Tembuland, Bomvanaland, Goalekaland and the Xesibe district, while Her Majesty's Government declared Lower Bechuanaland a Crown Colony, and in 1887 warned Portugal to keep her hands off Matabeleland. Simultaneously, the Boers made renewed efforts to induce the Swazis to acknowledge their supremacy. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind if we are to understand aright the history of succeeding years.

Meanwhile, it may be interesting to record the impression made by Rhodes, shortly after this date, on a competent critic who will not be accused of undue partiality. Sir Charles Dilke, in his *Problems of Greater Britain* says, 'Another remarkable figure in the Colony, as popular in South Africa as he was once popular at Oxford, is that of Mr. Rhodes of Diamond Mine fame. I believe that, though of an old English family, he may be said to have sent himself to Oriel College after he had been for some time in Africa. When he first took to politics, which was during a pause in his undergraduate career, he belonged to the Anti-Dutch party,

but he has modified his views with the lapse of time. His wealth, in itself, makes him a considerable power in South Africa, where there have until lately been but few rich men: and although his official experience has been short, he was Treasurer of the Colony for seven weeks in 1886, and might be a Minister to-day if he cared to be one. "The Diamond King," as this modest strong gentleman hates to be called, is a man of common sense; who loudly proclaims the excellent principle that Dutch and English should work together for the welfare of South Africa.'

The proceedings of the Cape Parliament at this time caused much uneasiness in the minds of responsible Colonists. The Government was inherently weak and never really master in its own house. 'Your estimate,' wrote Mr. Merriman to me on 24th July 1885, 'of our Parliamentary proceedings is only too correct. Any one with money to lose may well be apprehensive as to the possible development of legislation in the Colony.' I have already referred to the only reported speech of Rhodes during the Session of 1885, a speech delivered on 30th June. Some weeks earlier he had despatched the following characteristic letter to Lord Harris, then Under Secretary of State for India :—

'CIVIL SERVICE CLUB,
CAPE TOWN, *June* 7/85.

'MY LORD,—On reading your motion for papers in reference to Bechuanaland, I gather you are not quite so prejudiced as the generality of the English public. I should be glad if you would obtain my letter of resignation which has been in Lord Derby's hands for the last two months. I suppose he will have laid it on the table with the papers promised before Whitsuntide.

I have also by this mail replied to a memorandum of Sir Charles Warren, which will afford information. I merely ask for fair criticism. My main object in the whole question has been to retain the interior and shut the Transvaal in, and I felt that England would not stand permanently the cost of a Crown Colony in the interior. A protectorate is liable to be abandoned at any moment, so I worked, throughout, for annexation to Cape Colony. Once made English territory, it could not be abandoned. If you will read the papers by this light you will understand the whole case. The Rev. John Mackenzie and his contingent have persistently misrepresented my objects, but unfortunately he has succeeded in gaining most of the English press who do not understand the question. By Warren's uncontrolled action with him you have lost for this year all chance of Colonial annexation. This would not matter if you are prepared to face the cost of a Crown Colony in the interior, which I estimate at about £300,000 per annum. You are now spending about £150,000 per month. I am so afraid the British public will get sick of it and clear out, and then it will drift back to the Transvaal. If Warren had worked with the Governor we could have carried annexation to the Colony. As it is, nothing has been done. You have spent one million and a half and are practically just where you started. Though personally unacquainted with you, I have often heard of you through my brother Frank who was at Eton with you.—Yours truly,

'C. J. RHODES.

'*P.S.*—Do not be led away by the assertion that I am pro-Dutch in my sympathies. I had to consider the best mode of permanently checking the expansion of

the Boer Republics in the interior. The only solution I can see is to enclose them by the Cape Colony. The British public, I feel, will never stand the permanent expense of a Crown Colony so far removed from the sea. It cannot be made self-supporting, as it would have very few sources of revenue. Having no ports it would receive no Customs, which are the chief support of a Colony, and, directed by an Imperial officer on the Mackenzie lines, you would have to keep a large police force against possible Boer encroachments. If the mother country is prepared to face such an expenditure, I say by all means adopt such a policy. But my instructions have always been that after asserting British supremacy the course desired was Colonial annexation. Against this, Warren has agitated ever since he went into the country and I feel I have been placed in a false position. The Niekerk trial came to an end as soon as he was sent to the Colony. The Crown Prosecutor at Kimberley declined to prosecute on the ground of there being no evidence. I mention this, as it may be stated that it is due to the pro-Boer sympathies of Cape politicians that it was not proceeded with. The real facts are that the barrister who decided on the merits of the case is an Oxford man and certainly thoroughly English in his views. It would have been better for all parties if Warren had sent Niekerk at once to the Colony instead of keeping him in confinement for nearly four months, and submitting him to the farce of an irregular trial in Bechuanaland, at the close of which he re-arrested Niekerk and sent him to the Colony, only to be released as soon as his case was submitted to a qualified legal mind. Conduct such as Warren's is just heaping up future trouble in this country and destroying all chance of success for those

who are earnestly working to cement the two nationalities on the basis of true loyalty to the British flag.'

The letter and the postscript, which is longer than the letter, will be found to constitute an able explanation and defence of his attitude in regard to Bechuanaland affairs. He disliked being misunderstood, and was anxious to put himself right with English official opinion. He was between two fires. The 'Big-drum' party at the Cape distrusted him as at heart a pro-Boer, because he desired justice for all, and, for that reason, had recognised the title-deeds of those Dutch Stellalanders whose claims were based on effective occupation, and because he resented Warren's action in re-opening a closed question. He also vehemently opposed that officer's high-handed procedure in arresting and prosecuting Van Niekerk, the Dutch Administrator of Stellaland, who had abided by the terms of settlement agreed upon. On the other hand, the Transvaal Boers and their friends at the Cape instinctively recognised, with their customary acuteness, that they had to deal with a strong man, whose underlying motive, though unexpressed in words, was the extension of British authority. It must be confessed that, man for man, the Dutch in South Africa are abler politicians than the English. Their outlook in the past may have been narrow, but it was intense. Whatever aims they had, they prosecuted them with fervour and conviction, free alike from the shilly-shally policy of the Home Government and from the internal dissensions of the English-speaking Colonists. They held strongly the principle of nationality. What they failed to see, and what Rhodes saw, was that South Africa was not ripe for nationhood; that its inhabitants, even if

united, could not, for many years, stand alone, and if independent and debarred from the protection of our army and our navy, would fall a prey to the first European power desirous of an additional oversea possession. As a dream it was, therefore, a vain one. Rhodes, on the contrary, realised that South Africa could only grow to maturity under the folds of our flag and as an integral portion of our Empire. History will, in the long-run, confirm the justice of our current belief that, but for Rhodes, the Transvaal and not England would have developed into the preponderating power in South Africa. His persistence alone prevented the rise of a Dutch Republic from the Zambesi to the sea —a Republic without a navy and therefore at the mercy of any ambitious foreign State. He also saw that the expansion of our Empire, to be lasting, must be on an economic basis, and must come about through spontaneous Colonial action and not through the direct and artificial intervention of Downing Street. This, and not more than this, is what he and Sir Hercules Robinson meant when, in a much misunderstood phrase, they publicly advocated the 'elimination of the Imperial factor.' They recognised that expansion, to be effective, must be natural; and at the wish and expense of the Colony concerned. If the Home Government called the tune, of course they paid the piper, but Rhodes held that interference with Colonial affairs was seldom wise, and should be discouraged except in grave emergencies.

In affording me the privilege of publishing the preceding letter Lord Harris observes, 'By the time Rhodes's letter reached me I was posted to the India Office, and I had enough to do with India without following up South African affairs, but I sent a copy to my

colleague at the Colonial Office and advised Rhodes that I had done so. His letter, I think most will agree, is an extraordinarily accurate forecast of events, and the conclusion shows that, although the means he adopted were to some minds tortuous, the end he aimed at was most loyal to the mother country and, as things have turned out, the most adaptable to South Africa.'

The policy of Rhodes during the sessions of 1885-86 has thus been summarised by 'Vindex':—

'The true policy then was, Mr. Rhodes was convinced, to cultivate in every possible way friendly relations with the Transvaal, and to trust to commercial intercourse to melt away the strong racial animosity which existed there. Accordingly, during the period 1886-88 and, of course, long after, Mr. Rhodes directed his political labours to win the confidence of the Bond party at the Cape, and at the same time to draw closer to the Transvaal by means of a railway and a Customs Union, which would advantage the material interests of the Cape as well as the Transvaal. This is the key to his policy of unification from this time onward, and the key to the understanding of his political attitude and his public utterances, as may be seen from the speeches of this period. Against him he had the Boer ideal of exclusiveness and isolation, with the intense natural suspiciousness of the Boer and his hereditary dislike and distrust of the British Government; and at the head of these antagonistic forces he had, of course, the unresting rivalry and ambition of the strong representative of the Great Trek, President Kruger. At first, no doubt, President Kruger did not perceive the real trend of the proposed railway union and commercial union with the Cape, and was not opposed to them, and would have come to terms had the oppor-

tunity not been thrown away by Sir Gordon Sprigg's Cabinet. Mr. Rhodes was not then a power in Cape politics, and almost alone he fought for the acceptance of the Transvaal proposals. The offer of free trade and railway communication with the Transvaal was refused, in spite of Mr. Rhodes's efforts, and when the Cape Government afterwards attempted to get what they had refused, the result was a humiliating failure.'

The third session of the seventh Parliament of the Colony was opened on 9th April 1886, by the Acting Administrator, Lieutenant-General Torrens, who, after referring to the Governor's absence through ill-health, announced the arrival of the dreaded vine disease caused by the Phylloxera Vastatrix, and stated in respect to Native Affairs that the annexation of the Transkeian territories was now complete, and that prolonged negotiations were proceeding with Umquikela paramount chief of Eastern Pondoland. The speech went on to make a hit at Rhodes by declaring that a monopoly of Diamond Mining was to be deprecated. It did not occur to Ministers that the amalgamation of diamond interests had saved the principal industry of the Colony from extinction.

In his Budget speech on 15th April, Sprigg, now Prime Minister, said of Merriman, 'We all know that the hon. member does not believe in parliamentary government. He did not believe in it in 1882 and he does not believe in it now.'

In his reply, Merriman gloried in the charge, saying, 'There is hardly a man outside the House who is not heartily sick of Responsible Government.'

On 30th April Rhodes took part in a debate on School Regulations, and took his usual direct line on education, declaring that although he was in favour

of State Education, he would couple with it religious instruction if the people wished it. 'In the education of our people,' he said, 'lies our only hope of killing race differences.' (Hear, hear.) The speech was on Hofmeyr's motion 'That the managers may provide for the religious instruction of scholars during the ordinary hours of instruction, but no scholar shall be compelled to attend without the consent of parents or guardians.'

The motion was carried by 46 to 11.

On 6th May another Dutch member moved to reduce the number of Sunday trains, and Rhodes, in support, characterised them as a real scandal. The motion was carried by 49 to 5. On 11th May, on the Estimates, Rhodes supported Hofmeyr in his objection to suspend the Sinking Fund in order to square the Budget, as proposed by Sprigg. On 14th May Rhodes brought forward a motion in favour of irrigation in the Harts River Valley and it was carried without a division. On the same date he spoke on the Excise Bill, saying it was uncertain in its incidence, expensive to collect, and the cause of grave inconvenience. He quoted Adam Smith and Fawcett in support of his views. The repeal of the Act was carried by 35 to 31. On 19th May he supported a motion in favour of the 'Precious Stones Mines Act Amendment Bill,' and it was carried. On the same date he moved to impose road rates on native huts within Location areas and on Crown Lands. The resolution was carried by 34 to 10. Here was evidently a young man who knew what he wanted, and how to get it.

On 20th June an important question came before the House. The Transvaal and Orange Free States had applied for a share of the Customs duties collected on

their goods at Cape ports. Upington moved to appoint a Committee to confer with those States, but without power to bind the Colony. But he was dead against their claim to share in the duties. Wiener, Tudhope and Vintcent concurred: Merriman, Sauer and Innes were for fair and even generous dealing.

Rhodes made a weighty speech in favour of treating the interior States with justice, and even with generosity, and as a result of his advocacy the Resolution to confer with the two Republics was unanimously agreed to. His speech was a long one. I quote only one extract from it.

'If,' he said, 'we take a statesmanlike view of the situation, we should deal with the Transvaal about the internal customs and the extension of the railway to Pretoria. They are hard up, and as they have no customs duties, and must get revenue some way, they must put a duty on goods from the Colony. If we are going to approach the Republics by laying down the law that we will not give them any share of the duties, we shall only increase the feeling existing at present. It is time to approach this question from a much wider point of view, and deal with them on the basis of giving them some share of our Customs. It might seem as though I were asking the House to give up revenue, but if the Delagoa Bay Railway is about to be constructed our trade will go through that port. That is the question we must deal with, and if we make no concession, we shall get no Customs duties at all, for we shall lose our trade and our railway receipts. Now is the time to act or we shall find our trade gone, hostile tariffs established against us, and the reason for which we built our railways swept away. I think the House should weigh this question in a broad spirit and with

the idea always before us that we should be the dominant State of South Africa.'

To understand the points here put it is necessary to know that, in the absence of a general Customs Union, the Coast Colonies were, at that period, pursuing a policy of flagrant injustice towards the interior States. To assist in meeting, as they said, the cost of dock accommodation, they persisted in retaining the whole of the Customs duties levied at their ports on goods destined for Transvaal consumption. This course, Rhodes argued, would inevitably drive the Republics to exploit Delagoa Bay to the detriment of Cape ports. Such, in fact, was the natural result, and by the time the Cape realised the fatuity of its conduct and agreed to substitute a mere transit duty to cover the cost of collection, it was too late: trade had been diverted, never to return, and whereas Cape ports once enjoyed nearly seventy per cent. of the traffic, the bulk of it has now passed to other ports. Selfishness, whether national or individual, does not pay. In this instance, as in others, Rhodes was in advance of his time.

Three years later a Customs Convention gave the Orange Free State three-fourths of the Customs duties collected at the Cape, retaining twenty-five per cent. for cost of collection. The charge is now reduced to five per cent.

On 15th June Rhodes presented two petitions to the House and spoke on the Transkeian Territories Representation Bill and against the foolish proposal to give the franchise to raw natives.

On 16th June he censured the Prime Minister for sending a telegram to a parliamentary candidate in which he spoke of the 'Dutch' vote and the 'English' vote. And at an evening sitting on the same day he

carried against the Government, by 26 to 23, a new clause in the Labourers' Wages (Kimberley Compound) Bill.

On 18th June he again spoke on the same Bill, and on 22nd June on the Employers' Liability Bill.

On 25th June Parliament was prorogued by Proclamation.

Before returning to Kimberley at the close of the session, Rhodes paid a visit to the Paarl, an exclusively Dutch village of singular beauty, the Mecca of Afrikanderdom, and the birthplace of that admirably organised political association, the Bond. It was a daring 'raid' on his part, but he was anxious to work with the Dutch if possible, fully recognising that progress was bound to be arrested if their dead weight was against it. In the hope of inducing them to further the interests of their own Colony before all other interests, he addressed them on 21st June at some length, and met with an enthusiastic reception. He avowed himself a Protectionist, and this, in itself, was a passport to their good graces. The Dutch Colonists have never been converts to Free Trade. In their estimation the farmer is the prop of the State, and his products require to be reasonably protected against outside competition. Rhodes himself regarded the Colony as mainly dependent on its mining and agricultural development, and he always spoke with contempt of Colonial efforts to establish what he called 'bastard industries.' Roughly put, he desired to see Great Britain for many years to come the workshop of the world, sending out her manufactured goods to the Colonies, receiving in payment raw materials and food stuffs. In strict accord with these principles, he said in the course of his Paarl speech, 'We must protect our grain and our wine and

whatever the country can economically produce. Where we fail is in the idea that we can produce our own blankets and dress stuffs. There is time enough to think over that. First of all let us see that when the farmer puts his plough into the soil, he reaps a profitable harvest.' It is not surprising that with a pastoral and agricultural people like the Cape Dutch, a prominent young English politician, enunciating these views, became *persona grata*. The views, moreover, were honestly held. Only six weeks before, in an Irrigation Debate in the House on 7th May, Rhodes had said :—

'The House has been wandering year by year in the direction of improper Protection. A Bill has been put in to encourage cotton and woollen manufactures. The true Protection lies in the encouragement of the growth of our grain and wine. I maintain that this country could produce its own grain ; and if a slight protective duty on corn would so develop the agricultural interest of the country as to enable it to grow its own corn, the duty would be a right thing. In the years 1874-82 the country paid no less than three millions sterling for foreign wheat and flour. In 1884 it was £343,000, and in 1885 £296,000, when, in the latter year, there was a fairer crop. There is not a piece of money in the whole civilised world small enough to represent the infinitesimal increase in the cost of a loaf of bread under a tax of one shilling on every 100 lbs. of imported corn. The Protection party has been led away by the cry for cotton and woollen manufactures ; the real Protection is to stop the drain on the country by its payment for foreign corn, and produce our own. I am desirous of repaying my constituents for the confidence they have placed in me for years past ; but I am still more desirous of passing

a measure which would turn a barren desert into a fruitful cornfield.'

From these views he never subsequently wavered. The unthinking party-cry, 'Africa for the Afrikanders,' *i.e.* an Africa outside the Empire, was an offence to him; but complete self-government within the Empire, for which he strove, was common ground with all loyal Colonists whatever their nationality, and it was a party with this policy he aspired to lead.

It was some few months after the close of the session of 1886, probably in December of that year, that Rhodes went over from Kimberley to Pretoria. The visit attracted little attention, and its object is still somewhat obscure; but he is believed to have interviewed the President or some other member of the Transvaal Executive on the subject of railway extension. Be this as it may, he came away with very strong views as to the value of Delagoa Bay and the probable prosperity of the Republic. From undoubted authority I learn that he made a serious effort to purchase land and house property in Pretoria itself, and authorised a trustworthy agent to spend £100,000 in that direction. The project fell through because, with the innate conservatism of Boer landowners, holders would not sell.

CHAPTER XVI

THE COLONY AND THE 'BOND' (1887)

Political Changes—Amatongaland—Count Pfeil—Kruger and Brand—General Beyers—Rise of the Bond—Rev. S. J. du Toit—Merriman on the Bond—Cronwright-Schreiner on the Bond—Du Plessis—Borckenhagen—The Farmers' Association—Hofmeyr—Rhodes on the Native Franchise—On the Native Liquor Question—Railway Construction—Rhodes visits England and returns—Swift Macneill.

AT this stage in the career of Rhodes it is necessary to narrate the establishment and growth of 'The Afrikander Bond.'

At the date at which I have now arrived, that organisation, though still in course of development, was already sufficiently powerful to mould the policy of the Colony. Before the year 1886 closed, the Upington Ministry underwent nominal reconstruction. The Premier retired but retained the office of Attorney-General. His successor, Sir Gordon Sprigg, had previously been Treasurer. The other portfolios were unchanged. The cards were shuffled, but it was the same pack. The new Ministry, like the old, was opportunist, and incapable of any action distasteful to the Bond. Living from hand to mouth is not, however, a charge specially applicable to Cape Ministries. The tail sometimes wags the dog in other and more important countries enjoying, or at least possessing, Parliamentary institutions. Rhodes chafed under it, but had in his turn to submit, though with a difference. The Colony had its own troubles. Its finances were not prosperous, and it had, as usual, a native war on its hands. The

Goaleka tribe under Kreli, a warrior conspicuous in earlier wars, was in rebellion and invaded the Colony from beyond the Kei. After a stiff struggle he was driven off in October 1887, and deposed. The recognition of chieftainships ended. 'Who is Kreli?' said the Prime Minister shortly afterwards. And he answered his own question, 'A black man living in the division of East London.'

In June of the same year there were troubles in Amatongaland, a district lying between Swaziland and the coast. The Queen Regent, alarmed by the pretensions of Portugal, was further agitated by the persistent efforts of the Transvaal to gain a footing in her country and thus afford the Republic access to the sea. On her urgent entreaty, the High Commissioner came to an arrangement that, in return for the protection of Her Majesty's Government, she would make no alliance with, or cession of territory to, any other power without our sanction. In Swaziland also, Boer pressure was unrelaxed. Joubert and Smit, as Special Envoys, endeavoured to induce the King to cede his territory to the Transvaal. Failing in this they obtained from him a curious document constituting Kruger his executor and general heir. Her Majesty's Government declined to recognise the will. Headed off in this direction, the President again turned his attention to the North. With what concern Rhodes watched his ambitions in that quarter can readily be conceived. Nor was Kruger his only competitor for the reversionary rights of Matabeleland and the far interior. Count Pfeil, a German agent, started in 1887 to visit Lo Bengula, more probably on business than for pleasure. Instead of taking the ordinary route through Bechuanaland, he travelled by way of Pretoria,

and his mission was only suspended by a serious illness contracted in the malarial districts of the Northern Transvaal. It was about this time, or a little later, that Rhodes thus expressed himself to a new acquaintance at the Civil Service Club in Cape Town:—

'Other people besides myself have hobbies,' he remarked; 'some are for collecting pictures or coins, or even butterflies; others for acquiring land or houses. I venture to think that mine is better than any of these. My aim in life is to secure a country, by the nature of its soil and climate fit for white habitation, and which may prove suitable for British occupation. This is what our country urgently needs, and I could have no greater happiness than to be the means of obtaining for Great Britain sufficient land for this purpose. That is my ideal.'

'I felt,' says my correspondent, 'that this was the utterance of a great mind.'

It is only fair to President Kruger to add that his ambitions in the same direction were equally legitimate, and what we deem patriotic effort in the one case cannot be dismissed as mere intrigue in the other. Looking back now, it is easy to understand the friction and heat engendered by this clashing of warring aspirations. The various annexations referred to in preceding chapters were not accomplished without rousing deep resentment in the minds of those who were defeated in the struggle. The Free State, so long as Brand ruled, was content to pursue the even tenor of its way. The aims of the Transvaal were more ambitious. Hitherto Kruger had been more or less restrained by that 'eternal want of pence that vexes public men.' This was now to be changed. In 1881, after the retrocession, the revenue was under £38,000, and was collected

with difficulty. In 1887 the revenue exceeded £637,000, and advanced so rapidly, owing to the activity displayed on the Rand, that in 1899, the year of the second war, it had risen to £4,000,000. The Uitlanders were, in reality, Kruger's best asset. Unfortunately he never knew it.

An influential Transvaal leader, General Beyers, who will not be suspected of unfriendliness or disloyalty to his old President, puts the case in a nutshell. Speaking at Burghersdorp in January 1908, he tells the following anecdote :—

'President Kruger,' he said, 'once put a question to Brand. "Men are pouring into my country. What am I to do with them?"

'"Make them your friends," replied Brand.'

Sagacious advice, the acceptance of which would have averted a fratricidal war, and saved the lives of thousands of brave men of both races!

The rising power of the Republic and of its friends in the Cape Colony convinced Rhodes in 1887 that to preserve for his country the vast hinterland of South Africa he must, to use his own expression, 'square' the Bond. Its organisation was sufficiently complete to determine the fate of Ministries. But its avowed aim, thus far, could not by any stretch of charity be construed as other than disaffected, if not disloyal. It was under these circumstances that Rhodes made his first overtures to them at the Paarl.

A brief history of the rise of the Bond is thus necessary to elucidate the situation with which, as a practical statesman, he had to deal. The founder of the organisation was an astute but emotional Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, residing at the Paarl, where in 1880 he edited a paper entitled *The Patriot*. The Rev.

S. J. du Toit, for such was his name, skilfully used the vernacular press to fan into a flame the smouldering discontent of the Dutch with British rule. His appeal to racial feeling naturally met with considerable success during the first Boer war. Subsequently he republished his articles in pamphlet form under the title of *De Transvaalse Oorlog*, in which, with that remarkable fluency of which the 'Taal' permits, he advocated the formation of an association to focus Afrikander sentiment. His suggestions came at an opportune moment, and did not fall on stony ground.

'This,' he said, 'is our time to establish the Bond. The English Government talks of a Confederation under the British flag. That will never happen. Let them take that away and within a year the free Afrikander flag would be established. War against the English language must begin. It must be considered a disgrace to speak English. The aim of the Bond is national development under our own flag.'

Mr. du Toit had no difficulty in achieving his aims in the Cape Colony. In the Transvaal he met with less success. President Kruger always looked askance at political movements even where ostensibly engineered in his own support. An *imperium in imperio* was abhorrent to him, and he regarded all delegation of authority with disfavour. It was on these grounds he afterwards stubbornly opposed the grant of municipal government. In the Free State, Brand, though for other and better reasons, was equally hostile; but Mr. du Toit gained the warm support of Mr. Reitz, one of the judges, and Mr. Borckenhagen, a German who edited a local paper of a violent type. The aims of the Bond were thus set forth by them.

'The object of the Afrikander Bond is the establish-

ment of a South African nationality through the cultivation of a true love of this our Fatherland. This must be attained by the promotion and defence of the national language and by Afrikanders, both politically and socially, making their power felt as a nation.'

The tendency of these appeals was, of course, pointed out in Cape press-organs loyal to the Constitution. In a speech made by Mr. Merriman at Graham's Town in January 1885, he fiercely assailed the new party. 'Each one of you,' he said, 'will have to make up his mind whether he is prepared to see this Colony remain a part of the British Empire, which carries with it obligations as well as privileges, or whether he is prepared to obey the dictates of the Bond. Some years ago, when the poison first began to be distilled in this country, I felt it must come to this—was England or the Transvaal to be the paramount force in South Africa? What can you think of the objects of the Bond when you find Judge Reitz advocating a Republic of South Africa under one flag? My quarrel with the Bond is that it stirs up race differences. Its main object is to make the Transvaal Republic the paramount power. That is the reason of its hostility to John Brand, an Afrikander of Afrikanders, a true friend of the English.'

Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner at a later date (7th October 1893), used equally emphatic language. 'What,' said he, 'is the Afrikander Bond? It is anti-English in its aims. Its officers and its language are Dutch, and it is striving to gain such power as absolutely to control the Cape Parliament. The vast majority of Bondsmen are nearly illiterate, and governed almost entirely by emotion instead of reason.'

But politics, it has been said, accustoms one to

strange bedfellows, and such is the irony of events that the founder of the Bond lived to be drummed out of its ranks as too English, while Mr. Merriman and Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner, its sharpest assailants, came to be its prominent defenders, and the former, its Parliamentary chief. Inconsistency has been charitably defined as holding two opinions at the same time. With a year's interval no charge of inconsistency can apparently arise. It is a comfortable creed.

At a still later date (1898) a Mr. Du Plessis thus addressed his fellow Bondsmen: 'Never forget, young Afrikanders, how the English dominion was to your fathers, as the Kingdom of Egypt, from which the Lord helped them to go free. Keep now from English ways, so in time, under God's blessing, it shall be for the Afrikander nation to rule over a Confederation strong enough to defend itself against the mighty British Empire.'

But the ethics of the Bond cannot be fairly deduced from the shrill and vehement censure of its political opponents, nor from the extravagant utterances of its extreme supporters. By its own words and acts it is entitled to be judged. A recorded conversation between Rhodes and Borckenhagen is not evidence, and I give it only for what it may be worth. 'Mr. Rhodes,' said Borckenhagen, 'we want a United South Africa.' 'So do I,' replied Rhodes. 'I am with you entirely.' 'We will take you as our leader,' said the German pro-Boer; 'there is only one small thing: we must be independent of the rest of the world.' 'No,' said Rhodes, 'you take me for a rogue or a fool. I should be a rogue to forfeit my history and traditions, and a fool because I should be hated by my own countrymen and distrusted by yours.'

But what then were the original and fundamental principles of the Bond stated in its own words? In its first Congress, held at Graaff Reinet in 1882, a programme of principles was submitted and adopted after discussion but without a division. Its governing clause ran thus, 'In itself acknowledging no single form of government as the only suitable form and whilst acknowledging the form of government at present existing, the 'Bond' means that the aim of our national development must be a united South Africa under its own flag.'

For reasons of policy not difficult to understand, it was not deemed desirable to publish officially the definition arrived at, but all branches of the organisation subsequently started in the Cape Colony were formed on this basis, and the text of the Resolution was annexed to the Minutes of the Congress held in 1884. When in 1886 the full Constitution of the Bond was formulated and made public, this leading principle was, in milder terms, thus stated. 'The first object of the Bond is the formation of a South African nationality by means of union and co-operation as a preparation for its ultimate purpose, a united South Africa. The Bond tries to attain this object by constitutional methods, giving to respective governments and legislatures all the support to which they are entitled.'

This cryptic utterance fairly represents the policy of the Bond when Rhodes set himself to win its support for his scheme of Northern expansion. A brief explanation may be useful of the reasons determining the Bond's modification of its original programme.

The suppression of an open declaration of disloyalty was necessary to induce an important body, the Farmers' Association, to join the younger organisation, for its

members were chiefly Eastern Province men of English descent, who would not tolerate any repudiation of the flag. Mr. du Toit himself, as the years passed, was sobered by sad experience. Soon after founding the Bond, he was appointed Superintendent-General of Education in the Transvaal and, while there, came into conflict with the Hollanders whose influence over the President was then becoming supreme, and who disliked a Cape Afrikander with ideas. They therefore procured his dismissal, and from that date onward he developed a critical tone towards Krugerism and even towards the political organisation he had done so much to create—an attitude which led to his being driven from the counsels of the party by disciplinary methods akin to those employed by the Parnellite leaders against independent supporters in the House of Commons. The change in Bond tactics was accelerated by a sobering influence of responsibility. A power that can make and unmake Ministries, sooner or later acquires a tinge of statesmanship. Even Tammany would cease to be were it not sagaciously led. This sagacious leadership was supplied by Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, of whom it is impossible to speak without admiration. Ill-health, and the reluctance to accept office due to physical infirmity, alone prevented Mr. Hofmeyr from occupying the position of Premier of the Cape Colony. But he was for years a power behind the throne. Disliking publicity, the nickname of 'The Mole' was given him by the satirical wit of Mr. Merriman, as appropriate to what his opponents described as an underground policy. But he was, until his death, the brain of the Afrikander Bond. More than this, he was the trusted Councillor in emergencies of successive High Commissioners. As an Imperial statesman, he

displayed his great abilities both at Ottawa and in London. Almost at any time he could have formed a Coalition Ministry enjoying very general respect, and a nationality which in one generation produced a Brand, a De Villiers and a Hofmeyr, cannot be slightingly regarded by sensible men.

It is not to be wondered at that a political body controlled by Mr. Hofmeyr became a power in the land and gradually shed the extreme opinions of its immaturity. I have dwelt in some detail on the growth of the Bond, because, being feared, it is often maligned, and because it is necessary to understand the motives of Rhodes in endeavouring to arrive at a working alliance with its members, formidable alike for their numbers and the strength and sincerity of their convictions. His aim was not to weaken their power but to deflect their policy, and to impress upon them that their first duty was to the Empire of which they formed a constitutional part, and not to the Republican burghers of a neighbouring State with whom their sole connection was the accident of distant kinship. His speech at the Paarl may be taken as the first outward and visible sign of the *entente cordiale* which subsequently existed and which remained practically operative until the Raid. He made concessions to their prejudices, with many of which, indeed, he heartily sympathised, and, over a period of several years, he succeeded in maintaining the integrity of our Empire in South Africa by the aid of an Association formed expressly to destroy it.

On 23rd June 1887, Rhodes made an interesting speech in the House on the subject of the Native Franchise, the occasion being a full-dress debate on a Parliamentary Registration Bill, introduced by the Sprigg Administra-

tion to alter the Constitution Ordinance in order to restrict the unlimited franchise held by natives. It must be borne in mind that the franchise had never been granted by the Colony itself, but by the terms of a Constitution drafted by the armchair politicians in Downing Street, as to which the Cape had never been adequately consulted. It being the function of an opposition to oppose, the proposals of the Government were freely assailed, but Rhodes would not lend himself to a counterfeit resistance and broke away from his party. He pointed out with great force that the native franchise existed in no other State in South Africa, and would long ago have been limited at the Cape so as to apply only to educated men of colour, had not the mutual jealousies of Dutch and English caused the two European races to bid, one against the other, for the native vote. He declared against the 'blanket' vote, *i.e.* the vote given to raw natives still in a state of barbarism; and he prophesied that, while such a franchise remained in the Cape Constitution, there could be no Federation with other States. With equal emphasis, however, he spoke in favour of an educational and property franchise for natives possessing those qualifications. Some years later he embodied his principles in the well-known formula 'Equal rights for all *civilised* persons.' He said, 'It was not intended by the spirit of the Ordinance that raw natives should have a vote, and whether it was intended or not, the critical test remains: is it right that they should have a vote? Does this House think it is right that men in a state of pure barbarism should have the franchise? The natives do not want it. All a native has to do under this Bill is to build himself a house worth £25 and he becomes an ordinary citizen. For myself, I tell the Bond that

if I cannot retain my position in the House on the European vote, I wish to be cleared out, for I am above going to the native vote for support. So long as the natives continue in a state of barbarism and communal tenure, we must be the lords over them and keep them from liquor. Why should we not settle all these differences between Dutch and English, of which the native question is the greatest? What is the use of talking about a united South Africa if the native question remains undealt with? Does the House think the Republics would join with the Colony on its present native franchise? It is impossible. It is for the reasons I have given, of precedent, justice and policy, that I shall vote for this Bill.'

The desire of the Missionaries and their friends, backed by the Bond, prevailed. Unrestricted franchise remained unrepealed. But the views of Rhodes, as enunciated more than twenty years ago, are now the views of all thinking men. They were not inimical to native interests. On the contrary, they taught the high and salutary doctrine that the franchise is a trust, and that a man should endeavour to make himself worthy to possess it. Racial differences now, as then, alone prevent the law being placed on a rational footing. It is quite certain that the Union since arrived at will be incomplete until the franchise of the various South African Colonies are assimilated, and a compromise, fair to the natives, arrived at.

A week after making the speech summarised above, Rhodes again addressed the House, urging that liquor should be kept from the natives at Kimberley, and made a pointed appeal to the wine farmers he had lately met at the Paarl. 'If,' he said, 'there is one class in the House that might be expected to object to the Bill

it is those members who represent the wine and brandy interest, for that interest, I confess, would suffer loss by the diminution of the liquor traffic. I hope, however, that many of them will be with me on the liquor question even if their interests suffer. I put it to their consciences whether this liquor traffic to the natives should not be stopped within mining areas.'

The arguments of Rhodes prevailed, and the intolerable condition of drunkenness on the Diamond Fields came to an end, much to the advantage of the natives and also of the Colony, for money heretofore spent in drink came to be remitted to the Transkeian territories for the purchase of cattle, and the gradual growth of wealth and civilisation in those and other native districts was thereby assured.

Rhodes, contrary to his wont, addressed, on the 6th July 1887, a long letter to the *Cape Argus*, in which he gave a masterly review of the railway situation. The concluding sentence deserves to be recorded, though in a condensed form. 'What,' he writes, 'I have now said would have been my contribution to any discussion on the question if I were in my seat when it took place. I feel that the present is an opportunity that may not recur. The Free State is in the humour to join hands with us to mark its resentment at the policy of isolation pursued by the Transvaal, and if the right steps are taken promptly, the Delagoa Bay Extension Railway, which would send all the Witwatersrand traffic through Lourenço Marques, will not be made for years. It is emphatically a case of the first in the field. If we are first and make good our grip, we shall not be soon or easily disposed of.'

The imminence of the peril foreseen by Rhodes may

be judged by the fact that on the 14th December following the section of the Delagoa Bay line was completed to the Transvaal border. There the terminus might have remained for many years had the policy of Rhodes prevailed, but the Cape declined to be 'hustled,' the golden opportunity was lost, and with it, eventually, the carrying trade of the Colony. Had a line been at once constructed to the Transvaal *viâ* the Free State, as the latter wished and as Rhodes urged, any subsequent construction on the Delagoa Bay side would have been deemed by the Free State an unfriendly act. *Divide et impera* may well have been in the mind of Rhodes when he thus strove to separate the interests of the two Republics. In the coming struggle with Krugerism, as to which he was under no illusions, it made all the difference to him, and eventually to England, whether the Free State was for him or against him. Having launched his Parthian arrow, Rhodes sailed for England the same day on urgent affairs connected with the amalgamation of the Diamond Mines, as already mentioned in an earlier chapter. His return to South Africa took place in the autumn, when one of his fellow-travellers, Mr. Swift M'Neill, succeeded in interesting him in that eternal and apparently insoluble problem—the Irish question.

CHAPTER XVII

NORTHERN EXPANSION (1888)

Amalgamation of Diamond interests—Rhodes and Kruger—Piet Grobelaar—J. S. Moffat—Treaty with Lo Bengula—C. D. Rudd—Rochfort Maguire—Piet Joubert and Lo Bengula—Description of Lo Bengula—Sir S. Shippard—Colonel Goold-Adams—Bishop of Bloemfontein—Signature of Concession—Other Concessions—Rhodes in England again—Irish Home Rule—Letter to Parnell—Makes his third Will—Rhodes in the House of Assembly—Death of President Brand—My acquaintance with Rhodes—Customs Convention—Rhodes speaks at Barkly West—Again visits England—Purchase of Dalston Estate—Returns to Kimberley—Visits Cape Town for cricket match.

EVENTS moved rapidly with Rhodes in 1888. His activities were incessant. He had his parliamentary duties to perform, his schemes of amalgamation at Kimberley to bring to completion, added to which he had acquired important interests in the rising gold-mining centre at Johannesburg. But above and beyond all these, his thoughts were centred on Northern Expansion.

The hostility of the Transvaal President to the growth of solidarity between the Colonies was very marked. On the 30th January, a conference between delegates from the Cape Colony, Natal and the Free State met at Cape Town to discuss the practicability of a Customs Union. The Transvaal declined to be represented, and even Natal, after discussion, felt herself unable to join on the bases proposed. But agreement between the Cape and the Free State was reached on February 18th, an agreement confirmed by Parliament in August, which resulted in a formal

treaty ratified by both States later on. Under this Convention the Colony undertook to hand over to the Republic three-fourths of the duties collected on goods in transit. The policy of Rhodes prevailed: the right of an interior State to a refund of duty was recognised, a long-standing grievance was redressed, and a shock was given to the growing alliance between the two Republics.

On the 31st March Rhodes was at Kimberley, where he presided over a Special General Meeting of the old De Beers Mining Company, to confirm the purchase of the French Company's claims and the merging of the Company in his newly formed De Beers Consolidated Mines. His speech, which is to be found set forth in 'Vindex,' is worthy of perusal. On the 12th May he took the chair at the eighth and last annual general meeting of the old company, at which a hearty vote of thanks to him for his services was proposed by his great rival, Barnato. But, as already stated, he had much more on his hands this year than the mere preservation of his fortune by the reorganisation of the diamond industry. The time had arrived to strike and strike hard, if he was to win in his struggle with Kruger for British supremacy in the far North. Although the boundaries of the Transvaal had been repeatedly delimited, and were again settled by a Convention signed at Pretoria on 11th June of this very year, the Boers had never frankly abandoned their hopes of adding Mashonaland and Matabeleland to their dominions. Late in 1887 Kruger sent up Piet Grobelaar as his agent with the title of Consul, with a view to make another effort to come to terms with Lo Bengula. It was a flagrant breach of the Conventions on which the independence of the Republic rested. The sleepy Cape Colony made no protest. But Rhodes

came hurriedly down from Kimberley to Graham's Town, where the High Commissioner was on a visit, and urged him to proclaim a formal Protectorate over the Northern Territories. In the absence of instructions, Sir Hercules Robinson, not unnaturally, declined to take such definite action, but he consented to adopt Rhodes's alternative suggestion, and Mr. J. S. Moffat, the Assistant Commissioner in Bechuanaland, a man of much tact, was sent on a special mission to the Matabele king.

In the meantime Grobelaar, having instilled what suspicion he could into the king's mind, proceeded to Khama's country where he was killed by Mokhuchwane, a petty chief, under circumstances which led the Transvaal to put in a heavy claim for compensation. Lo Bengula, thus worried by the Boers on one side and by the Portuguese on the other, readily signed a treaty with Moffat on the Amatonga model, by which he bound himself not to enter into any correspondence or agreement with any other State without the sanction of the High Commissioner. The precise text of the Treaty runs as follows :—

'11*th February* 1888.

'The Chief Lo Bengula, ruler of the tribe known as the Amandebele, together with the Mashona and Makalaka, tributaries of the same, hereby agrees to the following articles and conditions.

'That peace and amity shall continue for ever between Her Britannic Majesty, her people and the Amandebele people: and the contracting chief Lo Bengula engages to use his utmost endeavours to prevent any rupture of the same, to cause the strict observance of the treaty, and so to carry out the spirit of the treaty of friendship which was entered into between his late father, the chief Umziligazi, with the then Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, in the year of our Lord 1836.

'It is further agreed by Lo Bengula, chief in and over the Amandebele country, with its dependencies aforesaid, on behalf of himself and people, that he will refrain from entering into any correspondence or treaty with any foreign State or Power, to sell, alienate or cede, or permit or countenance any sale, alienation or cession of the whole or part of the said Amandebele country under his chieftainship, or upon any other subject without the previous knowledge and sanction of Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa.

'In faith of which I, Lo Bengula, on my part, have herewith set my hand at Gubulawayo, Amandebeleland, the 11th day of February, and of Her Majesty's Reign the 51st.

'LO BENGULA X his mark.

'Two witnesses.

'Countersigned J. S. Moffat.'

The document, it will be seen, is dated 11th February 1888, and the High Commissioner, duly instructed, gave his ratification on 25th April. Kruger subsequently questioned the validity of the Treaty on the ground that a prior Treaty had been made with Grobelaar, but on the 12th November 1888, Lo Bengula informed Moffat that his signature to the latter document had been obtained by fraud.

Meanwhile Rhodes had not been idle on his own account. In January 1888 he and his friend Alfred Beit had despatched an agent, Mr. Fry, to the King's kraal at Bulawayo to watch events, and although the mission led to no result, owing mainly to Mr. Fry's illness and return, he was at once replaced by a large and well-equipped party led by Mr. C. D. Rudd, Rhodes's old partner on the Diamond Fields, Mr. Rochfort Maguire, a former college friend, and Mr. Frank Thompson, the latter well acquainted with Matabeleland and its formidable ruler. During their prolonged residence in the country, they were shown a very interesting letter

from Piet Joubert, Commandant-General of the Transvaal, dated Marico, 9th March, 1882, addressed, 'To the great ruler, the chief Lo Bengula, the son of Umzilikatse, the great King of the Matabele Nation.' The document enlarged on the defeat of Great Britain in the first Boer War, and expressed a hope that there would be eternal friendship between the Transvaal Republic and Matabeleland so long as one Boer and one Matabele remained alive. To use the vernacular of Dickens, it sought to impress on Lo Bengula that Codlin was the friend, not Short, an amusing commentary on the fond belief then held in England, but not in South Africa, that the Boers were in a grateful mood over our magnanimity in regard to the retrocession of the Transvaal. The expedition obtained many other proofs of the persistence with which Kruger was striving to obtain a footing in Matabeleland. They therefore kept in close touch with the great chief, following him about as he shifted his royal kraal. This he did repeatedly, seldom residing more than a fortnight in one place, relays of his favourite wives being brought in from time to time and kept very busy manufacturing beer for the dusky Court. Lo Bengula travelled in a Dutch-built waggon, where he always slept, partly for reasons of dignity, but partly also for greater security. It may be freely conceded that he was a remarkable man. A somewhat grotesque costume of four yards of blue calico over his shoulders and a string of tigers' tails round his waist could not make his imposing figure ridiculous. In early days he was an athlete and a fine shot, and, though, as years went by, his voracious appetite rendered him conspicuously obese, he was every inch a ruler. He had sixty-eight wives, including several Swazi princesses, but left no

THE HUTS, MATOPO HILLS.

heir who fulfilled the conditions of native law. The envoys had ample opportunity to observe the Draconian severity with which the King enforced submission to his autocratic authority, and some of their experiences can, even now, hardly be recalled without a shudder. They were much struck, however, by his capacity for government, and by the evidences they saw of his far-reaching grasp of the details of his administration. Very little went on in his wide dominions of which he was not instantly and accurately apprised. But, though he placed little reliance on the value of his land and less on its metals, he was visibly resolute not to part with one jot or tittle of his sovereign rights. For a time he played off one applicant against another and proved himself a past master in the arts of procrastination. But at length the persistence of the envoys prevailed. After lengthy interviews with the four principal Indunas, the latter reported direct to the King in favour of a mineral concession. A formal Indaba was then held at the Kraal on the Ungusa River on the 30th October 1888, when the King in Council presided. Previous negotiations were recited with the prolixity dear to the native mind, but in the end, after two days, the opinion of the tribe and its head-men confirmed the recommendation of the Indunas. It was the critical moment. For a while no one spoke. The proposed Concession lay on the table. The massive bronze figure of Lo Bengula loomed large in the eyes of those standing around, and his inscrutable and blood-shot eyes sent a thrill through the assembly. Then, after an ominous pause, the King lurched suddenly forward, seized a pen and affixed his mark. Had he been able to forecast the future, a massacre and not a treaty would have received his sanction. But the

recent visit of Sir Sidney Shippard, who was accompanied by Colonel Goold-Adams and the Bishop of Bloemfontein (Knight-Bruce), had apparently convinced him that his true interest lay in conciliating the English rather than the Boer element in his Territory. Sir Sidney Shippard had only left him a week before he made up his mind. His official description of the King described him as resembling a majestic statue. Here is the exact text of the grant :—

'Know all men by these presents, that whereas Charles Dunell Rudd, of Kimberley; Rochfort Maguire, of London; and Francis Robert Thompson, of Kimberley, hereinafter called the grantees, have covenanted and agreed, and do hereby covenant and agree, to pay to me, my heirs and successors, the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, British currency, on the first day of every lunar month; and, further, to deliver at my royal kraal one thousand Martini-Henry breech-loading rifles, together with one hundred thousand rounds of suitable ball cartridge, five hundred of the said rifles and fifty thousand of the said cartridges to be ordered from England forthwith and delivered with reasonable despatch, and the remainder of the said rifles and cartridges to be delivered as soon as the said grantees shall have commenced to work mining machinery within my territory; and further, to deliver on the Zambesi River a steamboat with guns suitable for defensive purposes upon the said river, or in lieu of the said steamboat, should I so elect, to pay to me the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, British currency. On the execution of these presents, I, Lo Bengula, King of Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and other adjoining territories, in exercise of my sovereign powers, and in the presence and with the consent of my council of indunas, do hereby grant and assign unto the said grantees, their heirs, representatives, and assigns, jointly and severally, the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in my kingdoms, principalities, and dominions, together with full power to do all things that they may deem necessary to win and procure the same, and to hold, collect, and

enjoy the profits and revenues, if any, derivable from the said metals and minerals, subject to the aforesaid payment; and whereas I have been much molested of late by divers persons seeking and desiring to obtain grants and concessions of land and mining rights in my territories, I do hereby authorise the said grantees, their heirs, representatives, and assigns, to take all necessary and lawful steps to exclude from my kingdom, principalities, and dominions all persons seeking land, metals, minerals, or mining rights therein, and I do hereby undertake to render them all such needful assistance as they may from time to time require for the exclusion of such persons, and to grant no concessions of land or mining rights from and after this date without their consent and concurrence; provided that, if at any time the said monthly payment of one hundred pounds shall be in arrear for a period of three months, then this grant shall cease and determine from the date of the last-made payment; and, further, provided, that nothing contained in these presents shall extend to or affect a grant made by me of certain mining rights in a portion of my territory south of the Ramaquaban River, which grant is commonly known as the Tati Concession.

'This, given under my hand this thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1888, at my royal kraal.

'Lo BENGULA X his mark.

'Witnesses: CHAS. D. HELM. 'C. D. RUDD.

'J. F. DREYER. 'ROCHFORT MAGUIRE.

'F. R. THOMPSON.'

It will be shown later that the document thus dramatically signed was sold for shares in the Chartered Company equivalent in value to £1,000,000 sterling. The Concession as regards mineral rights was complete and unqualified. As regards lands and surface rights, it only undertook to grant no concessions from that date. There were land concessions already in existence, not all of them of acknowledged validity. But they had to be faced, especially one known as Baines' Concession, after an early hunter and explorer of that

name. All these grants were subsequently acquired, one by one, by Rhodes and his group, not without much tedious negotiation and, in one instance, litigation. But Rhodes, fresh from his recent experiences at Kimberley, was not easily deterred, and I shall show in a subsequent chapter how, having secured the entire land and mineral rights over an area the size of Central Europe, he applied for administrative powers and obtained them under a Royal Charter. In a speech delivered to the shareholders of his Company in London on the 29th November 1892, he commented forcibly on the immense difficulties he had encountered in meeting the 'paper' claims of alleged concessionaires.

'I may refer,' he said, 'to one of the greatest difficulties we have had. You may think it has been with the Boers, or the Portuguese, or Lo Bengula. No! it has been with the concession hunters. They came like locusts; they followed us everywhere but did nothing whatever, and whenever they found us in occupation of a district, they came with a piece of paper from some wretched petty native chief and claimed the whole of our results.'

There was, in short, the usual rough and tumble incidental to the exploitation of a new country. Claimants had to be bought off or fought off, but Rhodes was exactly the man for the work, and by one means or another all rivals were in time extinguished, and the work of colonisation was allowed to proceed under the formal sanction of the Crown. On 5th December 1888, the High Commissioner received from Mr. Rudd and forwarded to the Colonial Office, a copy of the Concession, and took the opportunity of saying, 'The rush of concession hunters to Matabeleland has produced a condition of affairs dangerous to the peace of the

country. I trust, therefore, that the effect of this concession to a gentleman of character and financial standing will be to check the inroad of adventurers as well as to secure the cautious development of the country, with a proper consideration for the feelings and prejudices of the natives.'

But I must not anticipate. It is necessary to revert to Rhodes's own movements while his agents, with their lives in their hands, were negotiating with the Matabele king. Shortly after he met his shareholders at Kimberley, on the 12th May 1888, he visited England, partly on business connected with the Diamond Mines, but partly to start the requisite spade-work in regard to the great Chartered Company which had already taken shape in his mind. While in London, he took his first and almost his only plunge into British politics, by giving £10,000 to Mr. Parnell for the benefit of the Irish parliamentary party. The gift was much criticised at the time, and writers of the baser sort, whose practice is to impute the lowest conceivable motives for the obscurer actions of public men, did not hesitate to assert that his desire was to 'square' the Irish vote as he had 'squared' Lo Bengula and Barnato and the Bond, and as he once expressed an opinion that, if necessary, he could square the Mahdi. But, as is often the case, the motive so sedulously dug for was all the time on the surface. It is true that the money was thrown away. No audited account of its disbursement was ever vouchsafed. It was accepted by Parnell with cold civility, and what he thought of it and its donor must be left to the imagination. But the motive is transparently simple. Gladstone, in his Home Rule Bill of 1886, had proposed to exclude the Irish members from the House of Commons, and Parnell, for purposes

of his own, had acquiesced. Rhodes regarded this policy as a Separatist one. His greatest aim in life, to which all his other aims were merely subsidiary, was not to disintegrate, but to consolidate, the Empire. He knew, as every political student knows, that Ireland is over-represented in the Imperial Parliament, but between that and total exclusion there was a great gulf fixed. His ambition was to strengthen the Imperial tie, and the Bill, in his opinion, weakened that tie. Cardinal Manning was of the same opinion. Rhodes was, therefore, anxious to convert Parnell, even if such conversion necessitated a cash payment. His views should be studied in the light of his own words in his celebrated letter to Parnell, dated from the Westminster Palace Hotel on the 19th June 1888.

'Side by side,' he wrote, 'with the tendency to decentralisation in local affairs, there is growing up a feeling for the necessity of greater union in Imperial matters. The primary tie which binds our Empire together is the one of self-defence. The Colonies are already commencing to co-operate with, and contribute to, the mother country for this purpose, but if they are to contribute permanently and beneficially, they will have to be represented in the Imperial Parliament where the disposition of their contributions must be decided on. I do not think it can be denied that the presence of two or three Australian members in the House would, in recent years, have prevented much misunderstanding upon such questions as the New Hebrides, New Guinea and *Chinese immigration.*'

The closing words read like a prophecy when one remembers the very gross misstatements made in the House fifteen years later in regard to Chinese labour in South Africa. It may be as well to add that a draft

of Rhodes's letter was submitted to Parnell before being finally despatched, and several of the latter's alterations and omissions were accepted by Rhodes, by whom, in a matter of pressing moment, details were nothing where the principle sought for was admitted. Thus, for instance, Rhodes in express terms had approved of Lord Rosebery's recent proposal at Inverness for *reduced* Irish representation at Westminster. Parnell would not agree to support this. He would have all or none. His failure as a politician may be traced to this unyielding spirit. He could not 'give and take.' Unlike Rhodes, he never realised that compromise is the essence of politics. Parnell replied to the letter on the 23rd June, and on the following day Rhodes sent him £5000 as the first instalment of his donation, adding, 'I feel sure that your cordial approval of the retention of Irish representatives at Westminster will gain you support in many quarters from which it has hitherto been withheld.'

Cynics may smile to think with what contempt Parnell, who never understood us, regarded the Imperial Englishman whose simplicity led him to overlook the fact that the funds, thus acquired, would probably be utilised in prosecuting plans for ejecting 'the English Garrison' from Ireland. But there is nothing in the transaction that is not honourable to Rhodes. A well-known and much-respected member of Parliament writes to me, 'Many years ago I was dining in what was then the only Ladies' Dining-Room in the House of Commons. As I entered the room I saw Rhodes sitting at a table with two members, one of whom was the late Mr. Parnell. I nodded to Rhodes as I went by, and was rather surprised to hear afterwards that he had said, "—— cut me the other day. I suppose

because he thinks from my company that I have become a Home Ruler!" I took an early opportunity of telling him that I certainly had not "cut" him and never dreamed of doing so. We then discussed Home Rule, and he certainly was not what we understand by a "Home Ruler" in any way whatever, but he was greatly impressed with the urgent necessity of Imperialising the British Parliament and removing all obstacles, which could be fairly dealt with, from the path of Imperial progress. This was before he had become famous in South Africa, but I remember what a vivid impression he created on my mind by his strong insistence on the Imperial idea.'

During the progress of this correspondence with the Irish leader, Rhodes, on the 27th June, 1888, sitting in the De Beers Company's office at No. 80 Winchester House, Old Broad Street, made his third Will. His secretary, Neville Pickering, was dead, and it was necessary to make fresh testamentary dispositions. His fortune was now assured, and he disposed of it in a sentence, making fair provision for his relatives and leaving the entire balance to a private friend as Residuary Legatee. In a separate document, as before, he outlined the great purposes to which he desired that his money should be devoted. He then endeavoured, with that strange but not uncommon persistence in such cases, to repurchase his ancestral acres which were still in the possession of another branch of his family. Failing in this, though only for a while, he returned to Cape Town early in July. His arrival coincided closely with the irreparable disaster that befell South Africa in the death of Sir John Brand, who, on the 14th July, was in very truth 'taken away from the evil to come.'

On 23rd July, Rhodes addressed the House in Committee on the subject of railway extension. His remarks covered much interesting ground, as the following summarised quotation may show. 'I will first deal,' he said, 'with the broad question, the political future of the country. Three or four years ago, the House believed that communication should stop at the Vaal River. Little thought was spent upon the interior, but, by a fortunate accident, it was not lost to the Colony. The Home Government stepped in, and the road to the interior is now all right. A change of feeling has come over honourable members since that time. When we approached the Transvaal for free trade and railway communication, we found that, good as our feelings may be to them on racial grounds, still business is business. The result is there has been a change of feeling on the question of sacrificing the Cape Colony to the Transvaal. Instead of the feeling which prevailed four years ago that the Transvaal should have the expansion of the interior and that we should join with them, we now see clearly that if we allow the Transvaal to take the interior they will never join with us. I am fully persuaded that honourable members feel now that they are Cape Colonists first, and that their consideration for the Transvaal must be a secondary matter. I do not think members should consider this question as one on which we should be dictated to. President Kruger has already lost in his effort to realise his dream of a Republic for his people and his people alone. When I remember that his dream was to extend his Republic over the whole interior: when I see him sitting in Pretoria, with Bechuanaland gone, and the territory behind it gone, I pity him.'

This is plain straight talk, but consonant with facts. By his refusal to join a Customs' Union, by his taxation on Cape imports, by his hostility to Cape railway progress, by his marked preference for Hollanders over the Cape Dutch, Kruger had succeeded in alienating the sympathies of the Colony and thus played into Rhodes's hands.

On 25th July Rhodes again spoke, and succeeded in defeating an absurd proposal to introduce a Ballot Bill applicable to Kimberley alone. Immediately after this, he must have paid a brief business visit to the Diamond Fields, for I find him leaving Kimberley for Cape Town by the mail train of 31st July.

It was during the first week in August that I happened to make his acquaintance. Our meeting at the outset was of a stormy character—indeed, he had sent me a message which forecast it. At this date Rhodes regarded banks with unconcealed disfavour. He disliked their methodical procedure, their strict adherence to rule and form, their steady bar upon irregular or unusual business transactions. Where he dealt with a bank, he dealt by preference with a Colonial institution managed by a local board; whereas I was the representative of an English bank whose headquarters were in London. To the Imperial banks, and to mine in particular, he was pleased to attribute the severe stringency existing at the moment in the money market at Kimberley, whereas it was a much-needed precautionary measure against excessive inflation of values and speculation brought about, in part, by himself in his struggle with Barnato. During that contest he had purchased on credit, and at ever rising prices, more than £1,000,000 worth of shares in the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company. All diamond shares had

thus been artificially raised to figures in excess of their intrinsic value, and I had declined to allow the bank under my charge to be used as a pawn in his game. *Hinc illæ lacrimæ* !

A Kimberley correspondent of mine, writing under date 30th July, said, 'R. says he intends to have it out with you, as the measures you adopted during the late crisis nearly thwarted his plans. He is very simple in some things, but a power here and extraordinarily shrewd for all his simplicity. He is peculiar in his manners and has a rough tongue at times, but he appreciates being stood up to.'

Our first interview took place a few days later, and, acting on the hint, I 'stood up' to him, with excellent results. We parted on friendly terms, and from that day to the day of his death, he threw all the business he could in my way, and on no single occasion let me see the 'rough side' of his tongue, but, under varying circumstances, showed me a courtesy and consideration so complete, that I only briefly and tardily mention it here, and pass away from the subject as too sacred for more extended reference. Indeed, after his exceptionally full experience of the seamy side of life on the Diamond Fields, and of the disillusionment that comes to most men who see poor human nature wallowing in the sty of party politics, Rhodes, to the last, retained a touching confidence in his fellows, and when he once trusted a man he trusted him entirely.

On the 18th August he delivered a further speech in the House of Assembly, in which he urged members to make one more effort to overcome Kruger's opposition to Cape Railway Extension. Two days later the Session ended, or seemed to have ended, but at the last moment, when members of the Assembly were already

homeward bound, the Legislative Council unexpectedly threw out the Customs Convention, which had passed the Lower House and been considered safe. Members were recalled and many came, but not Rhodes, so far as can be ascertained. There was a second session of two days, with Governor's speech and all the customary formalities (23rd, 24th August 1886) and the Convention was passed.

Rhodes now paid a visit to his constituents, where on the 28th September and 5th October he addressed them at some length. The former speech will be found in 'Vindex.' The latter does not seem to have been republished, but was to the following effect. His gift to Parnell had become known even in the mining village of Barkly West, and the rumour was current that he was about to abandon the Cape for the English Parliament. 'I tell you frankly,' he said, 'that I have not the slightest idea of quitting South Africa for any other country. Here I can do something, but were I to become an English politician I should be lost in obscurity. I have been told it is my desire to enter the English Parliament. It may be a presumption to say so, but I believe I could at any time obtain a seat there without paying Mr. Parnell £10,000 for it. I gave that money to his cause because in it lies the key of the Federal system, on the basis of perfect Home Rule for every part of the Empire, and in it also the Imperial tie begins.'

He then went on to restate his favourite doctrine, that the only chance the Cape Colony had of remaining the leading power in any Confederation was to preserve its access to the Northern Territories and its reversionary right to their administration.

'When,' he said, 'I entered the Cape Parliament,

politics were very local. The mist of Table Mountain covered all. The High Commissioner grasped the fact that if Bechuanaland was lost to us, British development in South Africa was at an end. He persuaded Lord Derby to deal with the question and induced Sir Thomas Scanlen to share in the obligations. Sir Gordon Sprigg states that by refusing his assent on his accession to office, he saved the Colony £1,250,000, but if Scanlen had not intervened, Bechuanaland would have passed to the Transvaal. It was at that time I began to admire the man who was ruling in that Republic. I saw that he had inspired the attack on Mankoroane with the object, legitimate from his point of view, of seizing the interior, of stretching across to Walfisch Bay, making the Cape hidebound and ultimately annexing Delagoa Bay. And all this without a sixpence in his Treasury! But, gentlemen, I have ever held but one view, that is, the government of South Africa by the people of South Africa, with the Imperial flag for defence. I am not desirous to interfere with the freedom of the Transvaal, but the Cape Colony must hold the keys of the interior, and must and shall be the dominant State in South Africa.'

It was in connection with this speech that his Dutch friend, De Waal, wrote to him from Pretoria on 12th October, 'I have read your speech with interest, and fully endorse its sentiments. I have had a long interview with President Kruger on different political matters. He approves entirely of your railway policy and appears grateful at what the Cape has done, but is annoyed with Natal for forcing on her railway to his Border, which action, he said, she would soon regret. Oom Paul is also strongly in favour of our annexing Bechuanaland.'

I have already mentioned that Rhodes tried, but failed, to acquire by purchase the old family estate at Dalston. He was not readily repulsed in a matter of this kind, or indeed in any matter. Before leaving England, he invited Mr. William Rhodes, the owner, to visit him at Kimberley, and the very day of the delivery of the foregoing speech, 5th October 1888, that gentleman sailed from England accordingly. On arrival at the Diamond Fields, he found Rhodes was in Johannesburg and went on there to see him. They returned together to Kimberley to receive Mr. C. D. Rudd, who had arrived with Lo Bengula's great Concession in his pocket. The three proceeded to Cape Town, and before November closed Mr. W. Rhodes again left for England, no longer the possessor of his family estate. No bargain had been struck on shore, but on board ship, in dock, at the very last moment, Cecil Rhodes prevailed, and the property changed hands. The conveyance was on a sheet of notepaper, and its terms were expressed with a brevity and absence of circumlocution horrifying to the legal mind, but it held good, and the estate is now vested in the Trustees of the 'great adventurer.'

This accomplished, Rhodes returned to Kimberley. On 12th December I find Sauer telegraphing to him there, 'Pleased to see you down for cricket week,' from which I infer that he was coming down about Christmas to watch inter-colonial cricket on the Western Province ground at Newlands.

He and Sauer and Merriman, subsequently colleagues, were already on intimate terms, and had probably arranged a plan of campaign for overthrowing the tenacious Sprigg, who, however, was destined to remain in power for another year and a half.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ROYAL CHARTER (1889)

Non-attendance in Parliament—Rush for Concessions—Thomas Baines—Judicious action of High Commissioner—A. E. Maund—Matabele Indunas in England—Aborigines' Protection Society again—Umshete and Babyan—Grant of Charter—Rhodes meets Stead—F. C. Selous—Nyassaland—Jameson in Matabeleland—Railway construction—Sir James Sivewright—Rhodes in Graham's Town—Customs Convention—Transvaal and Orange Free State Treaty—Result of Treaty.

DURING the session of the Cape Parliament in the year 1889, Rhodes, by special leave of the House, was excused attendance. For him it was to be a year of action, not of oratory, and no political speeches of his, of this date, are to be found recorded in the books. Rival claimants to land and mineral concessions in Matabeleland were making themselves extremely troublesome, and some of them were influential persons, having the ear of the English and Colonial press. For a time, as we shall see, even Her Majesty's Government were perplexed, and the official answers to awkward questions in the House of Commons were at times evasive, if not disingenuous. But for the sagacity and steady friendship of Sir Hercules Robinson, the great Concession, however formal, might easily have been cold-shouldered by the Government.

Rhodes lay on no bed of roses. So far back as the 8th April 1870, Thomas Baines obtained a Concession, though not a very definite one. Baines was a hunter, explorer and self-taught artist, and a companion of Livingstone when the latter discovered the Victoria

Falls. His fearless, though gentle nature, his simplicity and integrity, endeared him to all who knew him, and so impressed Lo Bengula that for years afterwards the king's name for him was 'the good white man.' The meeting between them took place only three months after the king assumed the sovereignty, which, strange to say, he did with great reluctance, as a superior heir was believed to be in existence, though living somewhere beyond the confines of the Territory. Lo Bengula made the most searching inquiries to find the lawful chief, and 'took an oath' from all the neighbouring States that he was not known to them. It was only when the interregnum threw the country into confusion that he allowed his *Nolo episcopari* to be overruled. The Concession granted to Baines professed to give him the mining rights over the entire district between the Grovilyo and Guayama Rivers, with the Zambesi as its northern boundary and Sofala as the nearest port. This coincides with Mashonaland between the 18th parallel of south latitude and the 31st degree east longitude. The Concession was soon ceded by Baines to third parties, but without much, if any, advantage to him, for he had no business instincts whatever. Upon his death no one claimed his transferred rights for many years, and it was left for Rhodes to acquire them, which he finally did for a sum of £10,000.

Another and far more insistent claimant was the Wood-Francis-Chapman Concessions Company, which, on the strength of an alleged grant, sought to obtain rights over the territory between the Shashi and Macloutsie Rivers, a district said to have been awarded to Lo Bengula by President Burgers of the Transvaal, whereas it was also claimed by Khama, the Bamangwato

chief, as his undoubted patrimony. In May 1889, the Company's agent was in Europe with a power of attorney and, having secured the financial support of a firm of well-known foreign Bankers, he returned to South Africa in the hope of depriving the Rudd Concession of half its value. The situation in Matabeleland was becoming very strained. The younger Matjakas, mostly of slave origin, were out of hand, and, to avoid a possible massacre, the Government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate refused the expedition a passage through that territory. On one occasion an entire regiment, 1000 strong, had importuned the king for a whole day for permission to make an end of every white man in the country, but he contemptuously dismissed them to their quarters. Nothing daunted, the claimants' agent and his party visited Pretoria and, striking northward through the Transvaal, obtained brief access to Matabeleland, but were turned back by Sir Sidney Shippard under the chief's orders, and were escorted out of the country in October. Some months earlier, another similar party under Mr. A. W. Haggard, was ejected by an Impi at the instance, it was said, and under the practical command of Mr. Maguire. On the 8th January 1889, the High Commissioner advised the Colonial Office that the exclusion was justified.

That these precautions were necessary may be gathered from the fact that Moffat, the Assistant Commissioner, who was at Gubulawayo in October 1888, reporting to the High Commissioner, said that concessionaires were holding secret meetings with the Indunas and having recourse to bribery on a large scale. Colenbrander, when in London, also stated that the whites were all armed at the King's own suggestion, and went in hourly danger of their lives.

Consequent on the disturbed condition of affairs, the High Commissioner judged it necessary to strengthen the Bechuanaland Border Police by 200 men, and to recall Colonel Carrington, who was on leave, to resume the command. On 24th November 1888, within a month of the signature of the Rudd Concession, an advertisement, by the Chief's request, appeared in the *Cape Times* to the following effect:—

'Whereas many speculators and others, seeking concessions of land and mining rights have entered Matabeleland lately against the expressed wishes of the Chief and people. Notice is hereby given that all the mining rights in Matabeleland, Mashonaland and adjoining territories of the Matabele Chief have been already disposed of, and all concession seekers and speculators are hereby warned that their presence is obnoxious to the Chief and people, and those who persist in entering the country hereafter do so at their own risk, and the assistance of all neighbouring Chiefs and States and of all well-disposed persons is solicited in excluding such persons from Matabele territory.—By order,

'Lo Bengula: Chief of the Matabele.'

Sir Sidney Shippard, the Administrator of British Bechuanaland, who had been sent up in October 1888, consequent on the Grobelaar incident, had repeated conferences with the king, and his tact no doubt helped to keep the peace. The High Commissioner acted with great prudence in declining to report any alleged concessions to Her Majesty's Government until they had been submitted to and verified by him. Of course, one result of this was that disappointed claimants vilified His Excellency in set terms, and instigated members of the House of Commons to put questions imputing to him interested motives. Few persons realised that he and Rhodes were playing a lone hand for the Empire.

In January 1889, the South African Trade Section of the London Chamber of Commerce interviewed Lord Knutsford on the subject of Bechuanaland, urging its retention by Her Majesty's Government, rather than its annexation to the Cape Colony. As expansion of the Empire through Colonial action and not through Downing Street was the avowed policy of Rhodes, the deputation had enlisted the services of his opponent, the Rev. John Mackenzie, and the latter enlarged on his favourite theme at great length, but neither he nor the Cape merchants who accompanied him appear to have appreciated the distinction between a Protectorate and a sphere of influence, and Lord Knutsford had to set them right on the point. The attitude of the Colonial Secretary on the main question was quite correct, for he reminded them that the Cape had twice had the opportunity of acquiring the territory but had declined to assume the responsibility, and that, rather than permit a lapse into anarchy, Her Majesty's Government had no alternative but to intervene. The paramount necessity of keeping open the route to the North was, perhaps designedly, not referred to. Before leaving, the deputation complained of the recognition of the Rudd Concession, Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster, of all people, being selected to introduce the subject. The Colonial Secretary, in closing the discussion, remarked with admirable sense, 'As regards concessions made to certain individuals, it is not our business to interfere with them. If our advice is asked we should certainly have no hesitation in giving it, and we should recommend Lo Bengula to be very careful about the conditions he makes. We do not administer his lands. We have a treaty that he will not cede his territory to any foreign power without our sanction, but as regards

making concessions for mining and other purposes, we leave that, and necessarily so, to him. We have not been asked our opinion on these concessions. It appears that often two concessions are given of the same rights, and it is not uncommon for the result to be that the Chief denies that he has made either. It must be left to the enterprise of individuals to settle these questions with Lo Bengula. I will not sanction any concession which has not been made by bargain with Lo Bengula, submitted to the High Commissioner and approved of by him.'

Another claimant, not hitherto mentioned, remains to be noticed. Soon after the Rudd-Maguire expedition left the country, Mr. A. E. Maund arrived on behalf of a syndicate called the Exploring Company, and there can be no doubt he was successful in securing a grant of sorts, but invalid as a clear infraction of the Rudd Concession. But Mr. Maund had powerful financial backing and he was a man of resource. Early in February 1889, he was reported in the press as being on his way home, accompanied by two Matabele Indunas who had been commissioned to ascertain whether there was really a 'Great White Queen' and, incidentally of course, to inform the British public that Mr. Maund and not Mr. Rudd was the holder of a genuine Concession from the Chief. It was a masterly strategic move, and stirred Exeter Hall to its depths. At a meeting on the 22nd February of the Gold Fields Company, of which Rhodes and Rudd were managing directors, shareholders were asked to authorise an increase of capital in order to help in the work of developing Matabeleland under the Rudd Concession, an interest in which had been acquired by the Company. One of the shareholders expressed his anxiety regarding

the approaching visit of the Indunas, but was assured that the Concession was undoubted. It is clear, however, that the Directors were themselves alarmed, for at a subsequent meeting, held on the 8th March, they stated that Mr. Rhodes was on his way to England, and he arrived before the close of the month. A contest was evidently at hand. On the 13th March, a Proclamation appeared in the *Cape Gazette* that Lo Bengula ruled Mashonaland under British influence, and repudiated the pretensions of Portugal. And ten days later a notice appeared in the *Bechuanaland News*, obviously inspired by rival Concessionaires, which ran as follows :—

'I hear it is published in the newspapers that I have granted a Concession of the Minerals in all my country to Charles Dunell Rudd, Rochfort Maguire, and Francis Robert Thompson. As there is a great misunderstanding about this, all action in respect of said Concession is hereby suspended pending an investigation to be made by me in my country.

(*Signed*) 'LO BENGULA.

'*Royal Kraal, Matabeleland, 18th January* 1889.'

The *Cape Argus* in reproducing the notice cruelly observed, 'Any one can put an advertisement in a newspaper and sign it Lo Bengula. It would have been of interest to see the names of the witnesses appended to the document!' As a fact, the notice was afterwards repudiated by the king. On the 11th March, Mr. Chamberlain, then in opposition, put a question in the House as to the Rudd Concession, which elicited from Baron H. de Worms, the Under Secretary for the Colonies, a declaration which made it clear that the clever tactics of the Exploring Company had made a great impression on the Colonial Office.

'Her Majesty's Government,' he said, 'have hitherto abstained from interfering with any concession granted by Lo Bengula, as that Chief is not under their protection, is independent, and has not till lately asked for advice. He has now by his messengers requested that some one may be sent to him by the Queen, and we are prepared to do so should he still desire it.'

Meanwhile the Indunas had arrived by the *Moor* on the 24th February, accompanied by Maund, with Colenbrander as interpreter, and for a brief space of time were the 'lions' of the London season. On the 2nd March they had an audience of the Queen. Babyan, seventy-five years of age, was gifted with a retentive memory and knew the traditions of his tribe better than any man living. Umshete, who was ten years younger, had apparently been selected for his fluency of tongue, which had gained for him the name of the Matabele orator. Having the advantage of genuine colour that did not come out in the wash, and being a novelty to Londoners, they were feted and made much of, as is our custom. A great breakfast was given in their honour by the Aborigines' Protection Society, *more suo*, to the amused contempt of Colonists. Sir T. Fowell Buxton was, of course, in the chair, and was described as so gentle-looking that he might have been a lady in a frock-coat. Several peers and bishops and Mr. Fred Harrison pleaded prior engagements. Umshete, the orator, declined to speak as he was not unnaturally suffering from a cold. The transition from a Central African summer to an English winter rendered the plea a valid one. Babyan, therefore, was deputed to respond, but confined himself to safe topics. He thanked 'the elderly gentlemen' who had received him, and declared that 'he had had a good breakfast':

in short, the function was a social success, tinged with the proper tone of hostility to the Rudd Concession. In due course the envoys returned to their own country and reported that London was 'a great kraal with houses everywhere.' They carried back with them a mischievous letter from the Colonial Office to Lo Bengula, dated the 26th March 1889, which virtually condemned all the concessions and might easily have led to a savage massacre of the whites. Fortunately the High Commissioner's masterly despatch of the 18th March arrived shortly afterwards, which enlightened the Home Government as to the impossibility of peace in Matabeleland so long as concession hunters were permitted to intrigue against one another, and proved conclusively that the only politic course was to confirm the Rudd Concession. Baron H. de Worms, answering questions in the House and admitting that Mr. Rudd had applied for confirmation of the Concession, still denied that Her Majesty's Government had arrived at any decision in the matter. But the battle was won. The envoys, 'in red ties' like present-day Labour members, sailed on or about the 30th March, leaving the field clear for Rhodes, who had just arrived. He, in turn, was to be a London lion later on, but his time had not yet come.

So soon as the envoys left England, Rhodes set to work to found the British South Africa Company. Its competitors were absorbed or 'squared,' as political foes preferred to term it. Financial aid was forthcoming, his own Company, the De Beers Consolidated Mines, contributing £200,000 to the first authorised issue of £1,000,000. Thus armed against objections as to the invalidity of his Concessions, or as to the financial weakness of the new company, Rhodes,

within a month of his arrival (30th April 1889) addressed letters to Her Majesty's Government outlining a scheme for the development and government of Bechuanaland, Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and undertaking to extend railways and telegraphs to the Zambesi, to encourage colonisation and push British trade, as well as to exploit the various concessions he had acquired. In other words, he did not ask the Crown for land or mineral rights which, by grant, cession or purchase, he already possessed or was soon to possess; but for administrative rights which would enable him to make his other rights effective, and maintain law and order among the population whose influx he foresaw. The petition said, in effect, that the responsibility of the Company would be heavy, but would be rendered less onerous if Her Majesty's Government undertook that the interests which had been legally acquired should receive the recognition and moral support of the Government under a Royal Charter. The view of the Colonial Office was thus expressed in their letter to the Foreign Office dated 16th May 1889:—

'In consenting to consider this scheme in more detail, Lord Knutsford has been influenced by the consideration that if such a company is incorporated by Royal Charter, its constitution, objects and operations will become more directly subject to control by Her Majesty's Government than if it were left to these gentlemen to incorporate themselves under the Joint Stock Companies Acts, as they are entitled to do. The example of the Imperial East Africa Company shows that such a body may, to some considerable extent, relieve Her Majesty's Government from diplomatic difficulties and heavy expenditure.'

The advantage of expanding the British Empire at

private expense was perhaps never formulated as a policy with a franker cynicism. Thus encouraged, and after a considerable correspondence with the Colonial Office in June, all of which lies buried in Blue Books and need not be disturbed, a formal petition was presented to the Government on the 13th July 1889, and, after the usual routine procedure, a Royal Charter incorporating the Company was granted on 29th October, a year all but one day since, by the Ingusa River, the Matabele king had affixed his signature to the Rudd Concession. The good offices of the High Commissioner, who was now in London, no doubt expedited the transaction. For the second time in his career Rhodes had played a great game with patient finesse, and again he had triumphed over all obstacles. The text of the Charter will be found in an Appendix. Long before its signature Rhodes was back again at Kimberley, but whilst in London, his life had been a busy one. His practice was to ride in the Park early of a morning, have a late breakfast, negotiate all day, and unbend only after dinner. By steady application to the business of the moment, he achieved great things before sailing.

It may perhaps be noted in passing that on one of these days in London (4th April) Rhodes made the acquaintance of Mr. Stead, meeting him at lunch on the invitation of Sir Charles Mills, the Cape Agent-General. Mr. Stead, always a strenuous man both in his likes and his dislikes, came to be the recipient of many of the great man's confidences.

By an arrangement with the African Lakes Company, whom he subsidised, Rhodes obtained, about this time, a footing in Nyasaland and, after consultation with Mr. Selous, who was in London, he took steps to organise

a pioneer expedition with a view to occupy effectively the territory over which his Concession extended. As it was desirable not to excite the jealousy of Lo Bengula, Dr. Jameson was sent up shortly afterwards to acquaint him with the Company's intention and to seek his friendly co-operation. It was a delicate mission accomplished with great tact. Lo Bengula, always irritable, was now doubly so, owing to an attack of gout. Of this Dr. Jameson cured him, and in return the king agreed to the coming of the pioneer force, provided they kept an easterly course avoiding or only skirting Matabeleland, and making Mashonaland their objective.

Meanwhile, the promise to push on with railway construction was not left unfulfilled. On 24th October, 1889, Rhodes, in a letter to the Prime Minister, Sir Gordon Sprigg, intimated that the Royal Charter was being granted partly on the strength of his undertaking to push the rails northward, which he was resolute to do, but that he desired to work harmoniously with the Cape Government, and felt that it 'was clearly a case for arrangement.' Sir Gordon concurred, and on the 29th October—the very day the Charter was gazetted—a memorandum of agreement was signed between Rhodes acting for the British South Africa Company of the one part, and the Cape Government of the other part, by which the former undertook to construct a railway over Colonial territory from Kimberley to Fourteen Streams, with provisional powers of extension to the boundary of British Bechuanaland and from thence to Vryburg, a distance in all of 126 miles. The witnesses were Mr.—afterwards Sir—James Sivewright and Mr.—afterwards Sir—C. B. Elliott, the General Manager of the Cape Railways: and the document was

executed at Lourensford, the former's beautiful seat near Somerset West. Of Mr. Sivewright we shall hear again. Rhodes did not allow the grass to grow under his feet. Within four days the earthworks were commenced: on the 23rd December the first rails were laid out of Kimberley, and in less than a year the line was completed.

A brief reference to other matters of political concern to South Africa in the year 1889 must conclude this chapter.

At a banquet given at Graham's Town on 10th January, the Prime Minister, referring to his recent visit to Bloemfontein, said that he had made provisional arrangements with the new President of the Free State for a renewed Customs Convention and the continuation of the Cape railway system through the Republic to the Transvaal border on the Vaal River. The Customs Convention was subsequently concluded, and ratified by Mr. Reitz on the 28th March, and by Sir Hercules Robinson on 5th April: and a railway agreement was arrived at in June.

Meanwhile, several steps were taken to bring about that closer union of the two Republics for which Kruger had long struggled with Sir John Brand, and struggled in vain. The new President was more amenable. On the 8th March 1889, he signed a railway agreement with the Transvaal, submitting to various restrictions on construction which his predecessor would have spurned. The following day he signed at Potchefstrom two additional treaties. One of them was a harmless document reciting that, as there was invincible peace and amity between the two States, so there should be Free Trade amongst their respective burghers, except in contraband. The other was a deeply significant

agreement which, beyond a somewhat prolix preamble, contained only two articles. I quote them verbatim :—

Art. I. There shall be perpetual peace between the South African Republic and the Orange Free State.

Art. II. The South African Republic and the Orange Free State bind themselves mutually and declare themselves prepared to assist each other with all powers and means whenever the independence of either of the States is threatened and attacked from without, unless the State which has to supply assistance shows the injustice of the cause of the other State.

Done and signed at Potchefstrom the 9th of March 1889.

S. I. P. KRUGER,
State President, S.A.R.

F. W. REITZ,
State President, O.F.S.

Brand's lifelong policy was thus destroyed at a blow. The offensive and defensive alliance here arrived at was obviously aimed at Great Britain and Great Britain alone, by whose 'magnanimity' the independent existence of both States was preserved. It is to be noted that the Treaty was signed nearly seven years before the Raid, and more than ten years before the second Boer War. Many thoughtful burghers of the Free State, bred up in the traditions of a sagacious statesman like Brand, disliked being dragged at the chariot wheels of a militant Transvaal, but their protests were unheeded. The independence of the smaller Republic was lost in 1889, not in 1902 : at Potchefstrom, not at Vereeniging. Had the Free State kept clear of a quarrel which was not theirs, they would still be a Republic. A serious dispute with them on our part was almost unthinkable.

Their State was governed on lines of equity and common-sense: they had no wealth for cupidity to envy, no public debt, no troublesome 'Uitlander' question, no grievances unredressed. Their existence depended on the maintenance of the strictest neutrality. But their eyes were holden so that they could not see. Listening to false foreign prophets, to Hollanders like Leyds and Germans like Borckenhagen, they left the path of safety and perished in the storm which would otherwise have passed them by. Yet not perished, for it has since gladdened the heart of every admirer of John Brand to see that the little pastoral Republic he loved so well has found an ampler and more enduring freedom under the folds of the Flag of England.

PART III

CHAPTER XIX

PRIME MINISTER (1890)

Departure of Sir Hercules Robinson—His high character—Succeeded by Sir H. Loch—Diamond Syndicate formed—Allotment of Chartered Shares—Sprigg's comprehensive Railway Scheme—His Fall—Rhodes forms a Ministry—Speaks at Kimberley—And at Bloemfontein—Attack on his dual position—James Rose-Innes—Merriman—Sauer—Sivewright—Rhodes censures the Colonial Office—Sir Charles Dilke agrees with him—Close of the Session—Bank Failures—Mr. F. Mackarness—Lord Knutsford—Rhodes again in England—Dines at Windsor.

It would be ungracious to pass away from the year 1889 without more extended reference to Sir Hercules Robinson, whose ordinary term of office as Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner terminated during the year by effluxion of time. In accordance with precedent, a renewal of his appointments was naturally expected. On the 1st May he left the Colony, ostensibly on leave of absence, his departure being attended by striking manifestations of esteem and regard. Shortly before sailing he had been entertained by the citizens of Cape Town at a farewell banquet, and had made a speech in which he announced that Her Majesty's Government had requested him to rejoin his post at the termination of his leave, but that his decision depended upon whether he could rely on the firm and consistent support of the Ministry in carrying out views which he strongly held. This unconventional and independent utterance gave great offence in official circles and fluttered the dovecotes in Downing Street.

But he was reported to have said much more. The brief cabled summary of his speech represented him as declaring that no place remained in South Africa for direct Imperial rule. His best friends in England regarded the expression as indiscreet, and as a virtual surrender to the Bond. Day by day, with wearisome iteration, the Colonial Under Secretary was put to the question in the House of Commons, and although the Minister declined, very properly, to deal with the quotation apart from its context, there can be no doubt that as a rule it was unfavourably construed. The full text of the speech only reached London towards the end of May, when it became abundantly clear that the summary sent over the wire had been in the highest degree misleading. So far from desiring to eliminate the Imperial factor, the High Commissioner had given a masterly exposition of the relative functions of the Imperial and Colonial Governments, declaring that his policy was that of Colonial expansion under Imperial sanction—in other words, that Great Britain could not and should not undertake to create another India in the interior of Africa, while the Colony should not adopt the Bond principle of expansion on its own account, but with the concurrence and support of the mother country. Even at this late date the speech deserves the close perusal of statesmen both at home and abroad. Sir Hercules drew enthusiastic cheers from his audience by asserting that, while striving to act with equal justice and consideration towards the claims and sensibilities of all classes and races in the country, he had endeavoured above all to establish, on a broad and secure basis, British authority as the paramount power in South Africa. This was hardly a policy of truckling to the Bond, or of eliminating the

Imperial factor. Nevertheless the sting remained, and on the 3rd June, when questioned in the House of Lords by the Earl of Camperdown and others, Lord Knutsford admitted that the High Commissioner had resigned and that his resignation had been accepted. A debate ensued in which the Earl of Carnarvon and the Earl of Kimberley supported Sir Hercules Robinson and his policy in the warmest terms, and though the Secretary of State endeavoured to maintain that no disapproval of either had been expressed or implied, the general feeling was that the High Commissioner had been thrown over, and no doubt the position was accurately and pithily summed up by Sir Hercules himself in a note to me, dated the 25th June, when he wrote, 'I am very sorry not to be returning to South Africa, but I was sick of only shilly-shally support.'

It must also be remembered that he had been made the victim of vulgar and insolent questions in the House of Commons, Mr. Bradlaugh having even accused him of abusing his official position to advance his private interests, a monstrous charge, which should have been repudiated by his official superiors with a warmth of language not falling short of the extremest limit permissible by parliamentary practice. But the defence had been lukewarm and Sir Hercules was touched to the quick, being a man of the nicest sense of honour and a gentleman to his finger-tips. It may not be out of place here to say that Imperial Ministers, irrespective of party, are often thought by Colonists to be frequent offenders in this respect, and to be incapable of appreciating their elementary duty of standing up in defence of distant and distinguished servants of the Crown, who are forbidden by etiquette to stand up for themselves.

It was under the foregoing circumstances that Sir Hercules Robinson retired from the high post he had so conspicuously adorned, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Loch, whose Commission bears date the 20th August 1889. Until his arrival the reins of Government were held by Lieutenant-General H. A. Smyth.

I now arrive at the third and last of the periods into which I propose to divide the career of Cecil Rhodes.

The departure of Sir Hercules Robinson was a blow to him, but he became Prime Minister before Sir Henry Loch reached the Colony, and after a brief interval of mutual reserve, he gained the entire confidence of the new High Commissioner. The year 1890, on which I am now entering, was to Rhodes a laborious and anxious one. Already at the head of the De Beers Mines and playing a fairly leading part in developing the Transvaal Gold Mining industry, he also became the guiding spirit of the Chartered Company, and Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. He had to gather up the loose ends of the negotiations necessary to consolidate the amalgamation of interests at Kimberley. In doing so, he realised that the concentration of the diamond output and its control by one great Corporation, though a great step in advance, was not of itself a complete settlement of the problem he had set himself to solve. Winning the precious stones to the best commercial advantage was one thing. Their sale was quite another matter. To flood the markets of the world meant gradual depreciation of prices. But what those markets could absorb was known, not to the Company at Kimberley, but to experienced dealers in Europe, and to them alone. Before leaving England in 1889, Rhodes accordingly studied the question both in London and Paris, and finally put in train arrange-

ments for the formation of an influential Diamond-buying Syndicate, which undertook, upon carefully drawn conditions, to purchase and dispose of the entire product of the various mines, thus regulating the output and maintaining the value. By this means the supply was restricted to the demand, and it says much for his business capacity that he succeeded, at short notice, in creating a Syndicate of the necessary strength, the usefulness of which has stood the test of time.

Early in 1890, Rhodes was in Cape Town, signing formal agreements with the Government and with the new High Commissioner on behalf of Bechuanaland, for the construction of the first section of the Northern Railway, provisionally provided for by the understanding arrived at during the preceding October. The documents bear date 23rd January. He was also vigorously pushing another of his great projects, the Trans-Continental Telegraph system, and ere the month closed he had the satisfaction of hearing that an Imperial officer had arrived at Gubulawayo and handed to Lo Bengula a letter from the Queen announcing the grant of the Royal Charter, and recommending the Company to his most favourable consideration. In February he was still in Cape Town, busy with the allotment of 25,000 shares in the British South Africa Company, which, at his request, had been reserved for Colonial applicants. His obvious policy was to enlist the sympathy and support of as many Cape Colonists as possible, and especially Colonists of Dutch extraction. It was reported at the time, and probably with truth, that he had shrewdly allocated the bulk of these shares to members or friends of the Afrikander Bond, whose identification with the Company's work was eminently desirable. Their association with him in his task of

Northern Expansion was also to his advantage politically, as was apparent in the next session of the Cape Parliament. When petitioning the Crown for a Charter, Rhodes foreshadowed the creation of a local board of control in the Colony, and he now endeavoured to carry out the promise. The Presidency of the Board was offered to the Chief Justice, who did not see his way to accept the post, and, owing to the parochial nature of Cape politics, men of sufficient breadth of view to act as Directors were not to be found. The project, therefore, lapsed, and the Company continued to be nominally administered by the London Board though in reality, to a great extent, by Rhodes himself. A very competent defender of the Company and its policy was secured in the person of his friend, Mr. Rochfort Maguire, who entered the House of Commons this year as member for North Donegal.

The accumulation of responsibilities thus thrust upon Rhodes entailed such a severe strain that at one time he had resolved to abandon his seat in Parliament, or, at all events, to apply again for leave of absence during the session of 1890. Circumstances, however, compelled him to reconsider his decision. Sir Gordon Sprigg, whose position had for some time been insecure, met the Cape Parliament, in May 1890, with a comprehensive scheme of railway construction, involving an expenditure of more than seven and a half millions. If he thought that all interests would be conciliated by this forward policy, he was soon disillusioned. Individually, many members were gratified at the prospect of seeing a lavish expenditure of public money in their respective districts, but the prudence of the community as a whole revolted against such a vast outlay on subsidiary lines, the bulk of which could not for many years be

relied on to pay interest on construction. Rhodes himself, profound as was his faith in the advantage of railways, was not prepared to add so largely to the public debt, and he therefore joined Mr. Sauer and others in resisting the Government proposals, which, after a stormy and protracted debate, were thrown out, and Sprigg resigned. The Governor sent for Sauer, but the latter, after negotiation, was under the necessity of advising His Excellency that he was unable to form a Ministry, and the responsibility was then thrown upon Rhodes, who, on the 16th July, mentioned in the Assembly that he had been sent for, and requested a day's adjournment of the House, which was agreed to.

On the 17th July he stated that he had been able to form an administration, but he was very nervous and was almost inaudible in the gallery. He added that he had desired to hold office without portfolio, but found there was a constitutional difficulty in the way. He did not say what particular office he had assumed, but he claimed the indulgence of the House, and announced that he advocated a purely South African policy and, in regard to public expenditure, he should proceed with great caution. Questioned by Sprigg as to the truth of the rumour that he had been sworn in without portfolio—which was the case and a technical irregularity—he required notice of the question, but said that he was now Commissioner of Crown Lands. He then moved the adoption of the Resolution on Railways recently passed in Committee of the whole House on Ways and Means—the Resolution that had upset his predecessor. This was agreed to, but on his first division, on the Ballot Bill, which he opposed, he triumphed only by a majority of one—a close shave.

The following is the text of the Governor's Commission to Rhodes, dated, it will be seen, 17th July 1890 :—

'COMMISSION

'By his Excellency SIR HENRY BROUGHAM LOCH, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Her Majesty's High Commissioner, etc., etc.

'To the Honourable CECIL JOHN RHODES, Esquire.

'GREETING :—

'UNDER and by virtue of the powers in me vested by Her Majesty's Commission bearing date the 26th day of February 1877, I do hereby, in Her Majesty's name and on Her Majesty's behalf, appoint you, the said CECIL JOHN RHODES, to hold the Office of COMMISSIONER OF CROWN LANDS AND PUBLIC WORKS of THE COLONY, during Her Majesty's pleasure, and to charge you with such duties as have hitherto been performed as COMMISSIONER OF CROWN LANDS AND PUBLIC WORKS by the Honourable Frederick Schermbrucker the previous holder of the said Office, the appointments to take effect from the 17TH day of JULY 1890.

'GIVEN under my hand and the Public Seal of the Colony of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, at Cape Town, this 17TH day of JULY 1890. (*Sgd.*) HENRY B. LOCH.'

The circumstances under which Rhodes took office can perhaps be best described in his own words. Speaking at Kimberley on 6th September 1890, within less than two months of his acceptance of office, and responding at a banquet to the toast of 'The Ministry,' he is reported as having said :—

'Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen, I thank you for the very cordial and hearty manner in which you have received

the toast just proposed. I cannot say that "A prophet is not without honour save in his own country," for I am not a prophet, and I think the honour done to me to-night as one of your citizens, on my being raised to the position of Premier of this Colony, is very great indeed; and I appreciate it extremely. Only about two months ago, being much occupied with the North, I had made up my mind not to attend Parliament, but I found there was a huge Railway Bill proposed, and I thought it was my duty to oppose it, as it would place too great a burden on the revenue of this country. I felt that this community had a very large stake in the prosperity of the country, and a Railway Bill which would cost many millions for railways which it was admitted on all sides would not pay, would be a heavy burden. I hurried down, and we fought the question, and the result you all know. But events hurried on faster than I expected, and before I knew where I was I saw it would be forced upon me to take the responsibility of the government of this country. I thought of the positions I occupied in De Beers and the Chartered Company, and I concluded that one position could be worked with the other, and each to the benefit of all. At any rate I had the courage to undertake it, and I may say that up to the present I have not regretted it. If there is anything that would give me encouragement, it is the kindly and cordial greeting my fellow-citizens have extended to me to-night. I may tell you that before coming to a decision in regard to occupying the position of Premier, I met the various sections of the House. I hope you will not be alarmed when I say that I asked the members of the Bond party to meet me. I trust you will agree with me that when I was undertaking the responsibility of government, the best thing

to be done was to ask them plainly to give me their support. I put my views before them, and received from them a promise that they would give me a fair chance in carrying on the administration. I think that if more pains were taken to explain matters to the members of the Bond party, many of the cobwebs would be swept away, and a much better understanding would exist between the different parties. The Government's policy will be a South African policy. What we mean is that we will do all in our power, whilst looking after the interests of the Cape Colony, to draw closer and closer the ties between us and the neighbouring States. In pursuance of this we have arranged to meet in December next in Bloemfontein, and hope to extend the railway from Bloemfontein to the Vaal River. We feel it is time to arrive at a settlement of the various questions which divide the States of South Africa. It may not come in our time, but I believe that ultimately the different States will be united. The Government hope that the result of the Swaziland Convention will prove satisfactory to the Transvaal. *We feel that if fair privileges were granted to every citizen of the Transvaal, the Transvaal would not be dissatisfied at the terms England will deal out to it.* I feel sure that if the Transvaal joins with us and the other States in a Customs' Union, the sister Colony of Natal will also join, and that would be one great step towards a union of South Africa. The projected extension of the railway will likewise prove that we are getting nearer to a United South Africa.

'It is customary to speak of a United South Africa as possible within the near future. If we mean a complete Union with the same flag, I see very serious difficulties. I know myself that I am not prepared at

any time to forfeit my flag. I remember a story about the editor of a leading journal in this country. He was asked to allow a supervision of his articles in reference to native policy, and he was offered a free hand with everything else. "Well," he asked, "if you take away the direction of my native policy, what have I left?" And so it is with me. If I have to forfeit my flag, what have I left? If you take away my flag, you take away everything. Holding these views, I can feel some respect for the neighbouring States where men have been born under Republican institutions and with Republican feelings. When I speak of South African Union, I mean that we may attain to perfect free trade as to our own commodities, perfect and complete internal railway communication, and a general Customs' Union, stretching from Delagoa Bay to Walfisch Bay; and if our statesmen should attain to that, I say they will have done a good work. It has been my good fortune to meet people belonging to both sides of the House, and to hear their approval with regard to the development of the Northern territory. I am glad that the Cape Colony will also share in the development of the country to the North. I feel assured that within my lifetime the limits of the Cape Colony will stretch as far as the Zambesi. Many of you are interested in the operations of the Chartered Company northwards; and it is a pleasure to me to announce that all risks of a collision are over, and that I believe there will be a peaceable occupation of Mashonaland. I have had the pleasure to-day to receive a telegram announcing the cession of the Barotse country, which I may tell you is over 200,000 square miles in extent. I think we are carrying out a practical object; we have at least sent five hundred of our citizens to occupy a

new country. To show how great is the wish to go north, I may mention that a Dutch Reformed minister at Colesberg has been called to Mossamedes, a place further even than the country we have annexed. I have often thought that if the people who originally took the Cape Colony had been told that the Colony would to-day extend to the Orange River, they would have laughed at the idea. I believe that people who live a hundred years hence will think that the present annexation is far too short.'

He had already spoken earlier in the year (11th May 1890) at a banquet given at Bloemfontein to Sir Henry Loch, who was a very peripatetic High Commissioner; and he again spoke at a similar function at Vryburg (October 1890) when the High Commissioner was once more on his travels. But he made no speeches of any duration in Parliament this year.

On the 21st July, four days after he assumed office, a formidable attack was made on his dual position. The charge was led by Mr. John Laing, an able and courteous opponent, who moved, 'That in the interests of the country it is impolitic and undesirable that the official representative of the British South Africa Company should be Prime Minister of this Colony.' He admitted that the Charter was a great Christianising and civilising agency and due to Rhodes's ability, foresight and wonderful organising capacity, but he quoted the *Times* and *Morning Post* as throwing doubts on the propriety of his holding office. Several Dutch members, including Le Roex and De Waal, defended Rhodes, who contented himself with the statement that if his interests ever clashed, he would resign. Laing's motion was negatived without a division.

The following day, sore with his recent defeat, Sprigg again raised the point of Rhodes having been sworn in without portfolio, but the Speaker intervened and the matter dropped.

On the 23rd July Merriman made an able Budget Speech, and Upington endeavoured to revive the question of the dual position, but the attack fell flat.

Some brief reference to Rhodes's colleagues in the Ministry may be conveniently made here. Mr. J. X. Merriman took the Treasurership of the Colony. Mr. J. W. Sauer was Colonial Secretary. Mr. J. Rose-Innes became Attorney-General; Mr. R. H. Faure, a veteran Dutch politician, was Secretary for Native Affairs; while Mr. J. Sivewright joined as Minister without portfolio, but was entrusted, in September, with the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, held in the interim by the Prime Minister himself, and only given up to facilitate his journey to the North, as to which some information will be given in a subsequent chapter. The post thus surrendered to Sivewright was of rising importance, carrying with it the administration and control of the entire railway system of the Colony.

Mr. Merriman, who has since been Premier himself, is so well-known a figure in South African politics, that it seems almost superfluous to describe him. Born in England, his removal to South Africa took place at an early age, his father being an Archdeacon of the Anglican Church in Graham's Town, and subsequently a venerated Bishop of that Diocese. Young Merriman was educated partly in the Colony, partly in England, and entered Parliament in 1869, at the age of twenty-eight, eleven years before Rhodes. He

had already, for nearly three years, been a member of the Molteno Administration, and, afterwards, for more than three years, of the Scanlen Cabinet, but until now he had never been Treasurer of the Colony. By his political foes, whose name is legion, he is always painted with a lurid brush, taunted for his inconsistency, accused of wrecking every Ministry he has ever joined, and being 'everything by fits and nothing long'; a master of 'flouts and jeers,' a creature of impulse, wayward, unreliable and always in extremes. By his friends, of whom he also has troops, he is regarded as the most brilliant and amusing companion, the readiest and weightiest speaker in the House, dexterous in debate, incorruptible in public affairs, charming and lovable in private life. Steering a middle course between rancorous prejudice and amiable partiality, I venture to describe him as the most interesting Cape figure of his generation, extremely well-read, a preacher and practiser of a simple and strenuous life, but one who is constitutionally unable to suffer fools gladly and who, habitually sitting in the seat of the scornful, draws down upon himself the dislike of many mediocre minds whose pretentious self-importance he has ruthlessly pricked. His commanding figure and singularly flexible voice, his keen sense of humour and nimbleness of repartee made him the spoilt child of the House of Assembly; and his fluency of speech on any subject once led to his being characterised by a witty American listener in the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery as 'carrying more sail than ballast!' But those who know him best are aware that for all his persiflage, his administrative abilities are of a high order, and Rhodes, who later on parted with him under circumstances of no little friction, never ceased,

to the day of his death, to speak of him with affection and respect.

Of Mr. Sauer we have already heard in connection with General Gordon. Colonial by birth and upbringing, a lawyer by profession, he is known to his intimates as 'the Bumbler,' a nickname invented by his friend and colleague Mr. Merriman. If the latter is the orator, Mr. Sauer is the debater and tactician of the party with which he happens to be associated.

Mr. Rose-Innes, since Chief Justice of the Transvaal, stands in a somewhat different category. During his political career, it is doubtful whether he ever made an enemy, and owing to his high character he was always a tower of strength to his colleagues. As a fluent speaker and sound lawyer he may have had many equals, but no man of his day was ever more completely possessed of the entire confidence of the average elector, nor was the confidence misplaced.

Mr. Sivewright was a Scot by birth, a graduate of the University of Aberdeen, and a telegraph engineer by profession, who for several years was General Manager of the Cape Telegraphs. While in the Rhodes Ministry, he was energetic and resourceful in extending the Cape railways, but he cannot be said to have left in the House of Assembly a reputation commensurate with his unquestioned abilities.

Taking the Rhodes Cabinet as a whole, it must be admitted to have been a strong one,—and but for unfortunate internal dissensions, to which I shall subsequently refer, its duration would, in all probability, have been considerably prolonged. Writing to a friend a few hours before the formation of the Ministry, I said, 'There has been unusual excitement in political circles here lately. After six years of office, Sir Gordon

Sprigg committed the indiscretion of launching out upon an adventurous railway policy without ascertaining the views of the Bond, and the conservative instincts of the Boers threw him out of office. Sauer, who upset the Ministry, proved unable to form an alternative administration, and the Governor fell back on Rhodes. The latter is regarded in some quarters as a dangerous visionary, despite his admitted ability, but any policy of undue adventure on which he might embark would be vetoed by the same power that overthrew Sprigg.'

Sir Hercules Robinson, writing to me on the 24th July said, 'I fear the new Government, with Hofmeyr outside acting the part of a candid friend, will not be strong or lasting. He has the power and he ought to take the responsibility, and it should be forced on him. The last is the third Ministry he has put out, *i.e.* in 1881, 1884 and 1890, and I wonder Rhodes did not refuse to take office without him.'

Few people, if any, realised the fact that whereas, in previous instances, the Bond had used Cape Premiers as puppets, the new Prime Minister was about to use the Bond to advance Cape interests as against Transvaal interests, and to assist in preserving the Imperial tie in South Africa as against the Republican ideals of Krugerism. There lay the difference, but it sufficed. The 'strong man armed' had at length met a man stronger than himself.

On the 28th July Rhodes gave notice of motion, 'That this House regrets that the Government of this country was not directly represented in the recent arrangements entered into between the British Government and the German Empire in so far as those arrangements affected Territories south of the Zambesi; and

is of opinion that the Government of this Colony should have a voice in any future proposed arrangements of boundaries south of that river.'

This led to an interesting debate of several days' duration. Upington, who had been Prime Minister from May 1884 to November 1886, was on his defence. He now declared that Germany had coveted the Territory since 1883: that in March 1885, during his absence, Sprigg had sent a Minute to the Governor urging that the Cape should be allowed to annex the South-West Territories, but that Lord Derby had cold-shouldered the proposal. He added that he thought the Secretary of State's action or inaction was resented by every man in the Colony. (Hear, hear, from all sides of the House.) Douglass retorted that Upington was himself to blame, as he took sixteen days to reply to a cable from Lord Derby in 1884, though the message was marked urgent.

Rhodes, in winding up the debate, said the Home Government had re-arranged our map without consulting us, but he thought it would not happen again. His Resolution was thereupon agreed to without a division.

On 12th August, Rhodes moved that his Government be authorised to enter into negotiations with the Government of the Orange Free State for the construction of a railway from Bloemfontein to the Transvaal border and, if negotiations were satisfactory, to construct a line with all possible despatch. This was agreed to, and on the 20th August Parliament was prorogued by the Governor, Sir Henry Loch, in person, who referred with satisfaction to the provision made for carrying into effect the agreement between the Colony and the British South Africa Company for the acquisition

by the former of the railway line from Kimberley to Vryburg.

Rhodes's motion of censure on the Home Government was cabled to England and led to an immediate letter from Sir Charles Dilke (29th July 1890), who wrote, 'So glad you have taken the Premiership and given notice that the House regrets that the Cape Government was not consulted with regard to the Anglo-German agreement. I was greatly opposed to the agreement.'

Having thus wound up the session as quickly as possible, Rhodes proceeded to Kimberley on his way to the North. His speech there on the 6th September has already been given. His return to the seat of Government became, however, imperative, owing to a serious commercial and financial crisis, due to over-speculation at the Gold Fields. His favourite banks, of Colonial origin, failed one after the other, and on the 20th September the premier institution, the Cape of Good Hope Bank, closed its doors. Rhodes was for a while obsessed with the idea that the Imperial Banks were contriving, for purposes of their own, to bring about the downfall of their Colonial competitors, and I well remember the unconventional manner in which he burst into my office soon after his arrival, and his surprise when I introduced to him a visitor already there as the Chairman of the Cape of Good Hope Bank; and when I added that the latter had just refused to accept my assistance to enable him to weather the storm, on the ground, which I believed to be mistaken, that the Bank, having lost its Reserve Fund and a certain proportion of its paid-up capital, was bound by its Trust Deed to put up its shutters. I explained that, so far as I could see, the money was

locked up but not lost, and I called upon the Prime Minister to urge the Chairman to borrow from me a quarter of a million to save his Institution. Arming himself with a formidable ruler and striding rapidly up and down the room, as was his wont when moved, Rhodes argued the point at some length and with scant show of respect for trust deeds, and at times I feared the ruler might even be used for purposes of assault; but the painful dubieties of the Chairman remained unmoved, and, in spite of our joint entreaties, he allowed the Bank to succumb. The lesson was not lost upon the Prime Minister, who from that moment was a staunch supporter of the Institution I had the honour to represent.

The following letter from Mr. Frederic Mackarness will, for many reasons, be of interest :—

'The Reform Club, *October 9th*, 1890.

'My dear Rhodes,—I hope you will allow me to send you a line, though a late one, of congratulation upon your becoming Premier of the Cape Colony. I was abroad when the change of Government occurred, or I should have written before. I hope your Ministry may have a long lease of life, and that during that time you may be able not only to extend the limits of the Empire, but perhaps also to do something to draw more closely the scattered portions of it to the mother country. I am sure it can be done without sacrificing an atom of the self-government now enjoyed by the Colonies. The Americans by their new tariff will be driving the Canadians to consider the question.

'I read with much interest your recent speech at Kimberley. The cablegrams, and even the letters in the *Times* from their Cape Town correspondent, gave

misleading accounts of your having said " the question of the flag must be left to the future," giving the impression that you thought the flag of no importance, an opinion which was at once condemned of course by the ultra Tory papers. So I thought it wise to get published what exactly you said, as reported in the *Cape Argus*, and which put a very different complexion on the matter.—Yours very truly,

'FREDERIC MACKARNESS.'

Before the close of the year Rhodes received the following communication from the Cape Governor :—

'GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CAPE TOWN, 1*st Dec.* 1890.

'DEAR MR. RHODES,—The Secretary of State considers if your duties as Prime Minister do not interfere with your going to England for a short time, there would be advantage in discussing with you various matters relating to B. S. A. C.

'As these matters cannot fail to have an important influence upon the affairs generally of South Africa—and indirectly upon those of the Cape Colony—I shall have no objection to your absenting yourself from your duties as Prime Minister, provided you can arrange to be back some weeks before the meeting of Parliament—and that satisfactory arrangements can be made with your colleagues for carrying on the business of the country.—Yours very truly,

(*Sgd.*) 'HENRY B. LOCH.'

In accordance with the suggestion of the Secretary of State (Lord Knutsford) Rhodes visited England before Christmas and was lionised in London, much to his

dislike. He appreciated fully, however, the honour of dining at Windsor Castle, though his conduct there appeared, it is said, to some of the Court officials, to be somewhat unconventional and brusque.

CHAPTER XX

OCCUPATION OF MASHONALAND (1889-90)

Size of Territory—Matabele strength—Selous—Preparation for occupation—Sir Francis de Winton—Colonel Carrington—Strength of Expedition—Armament carried—Dr. Jameson—Obstinacy of Lo Bengula—Selous again—Start of the Expedition—Colonel Pennefather—A. R. Colquhoun—At Tuli—Khama—Radi-Kladi—Frank Johnson—Progress of Pioneers—The Lundi River—Providential Pass—Ultimatum from Lo Bengula—Excitement among the Matabele—Column arrives at Salisbury.

THE occupation of Mashonaland, a territory embracing an area of 73,000 square miles, must ever be regarded as one of the most venturesome feats accomplished by men of our race during the Victorian era. It is not generally known, however, that the project as originally planned by Rhodes was of a far more daring character. Half measures were never palatable to him, and his desire was to march direct on Bulawayo and occupy Matabeleland itself—peaceably, if not interfered with, but in any case to occupy it. Bearing in mind that the Matabele ruler was in the zenith of his power, with a disciplined force of 20,000 men, the terror of a territory the size of Western Europe, the conception was a bold one. But more cautious counsels ultimately prevailed and the 'great adventurer' was thus prevented from emulating the achievements of Hernando Cortez in Mexico. Something, however, had to be done, and done quickly. Rivals were in the field, and action was imperative if the Concessions confirmed by the Charter were not to remain a dead letter. Without effective

occupation of the country, all acquired rights would, sooner or later, have lapsed.

I have already mentioned that, while in London in 1889, Rhodes conferred with Mr. Selous, who had happened to come over in the same boat as the two Matabele Indunas, whose historic breakfast in London and departure, wearing red ties, I chronicled in an earlier chapter. Mr. Frederick Courteney Selous, justly celebrated alike as an explorer, hunter, scientific naturalist and delightful writer, had spent many years of his adventurous life in South Central and South Eastern Africa. His knowledge of what is now called Rhodesia was unrivalled, and he was intimately acquainted with the Matabele king and his resources. To him, therefore, Rhodes naturally appealed to undertake the guidance of the Pioneer Column, then already in contemplation. But the precise route Rhodes would not or could not disclose. Selous replied that he was under contract to conduct a prospecting party to the head waters of the Mazoe by way of the Zambesi, from which expedition he did not expect to return before the close of the year. Rhodes, who had not yet obtained the Charter or official authority for its exploitation, contented himself by requesting Selous to come and see him on his return to the Cape Colony. The latter accordingly sailed for South Africa in May and after visiting Mozambique, Tête and other Portuguese possessions on the East Coast, and carrying out his expedition with thoroughness and success, returned to Cape Town early in December. A record of this and many other trips has been given in his fascinating volume, *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa.*

From Tête on the Zambesi, under date 28th October 1889, one day before the grant of the Charter, he had

written to his business associates in the Colony that if Rhodes desired to take possession of the promised land, there was, in his judgment, no time to be lost, and, as he anticipated the gravest danger in the entrance of the Pioneers into Matabeleland itself, he recommended a more circuitous route, starting from the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, striking eastward to Tuli, thence north-east and north to Mount Hampden, a prominent hill in North-East Mashonaland so named by him on a previous journey. 'Once get a footing,' he sensibly remarked, 'in Eastern Mashonaland, and before very long the Matabele question will settle itself. Now or never is the time to act. If Mashonaland is not worth this experiment, there is no other country in the interior of Africa that it will pay any company to spend any money upon.'

What occurred on Mr. Selous's arrival I cannot do better than give in his own words. 'Upon reaching Cape Town,' he says, 'I proceeded to Kimberley and saw Mr. Rhodes, and was delighted to find that that far-seeing statesman was fully alive to the absolute necessity, in British interests, for the immediate occupation of Mashonaland, and was determined that the country should be taken possession of, in the name of the British South Africa Company, during the coming year 1890. I then laid before him the plan for the occupation of the country by a new road, passing to the south and east of the country actually ruled by the Matabele. This plan Mr. Rhodes did not at first approve, but it was finally accepted as the only means of effecting immediate occupation, with the minimum of risk of collision. It is due to Mr. Cecil Rhodes alone, as I cannot too often repeat, that to-day our country's flag flies over Mashonaland. He alone of all English-

men possessed at the same time the prescience and breadth of mind to appreciate the ultimate value of the country, combined with the strong will which, in spite of all obstacles, compelled the means and the power successfully to carry out the scheme for its immediate occupation.'

For some months the preparations went steadily forward. Official delays and restraints had to be encountered and overcome, though Rhodes chafed and fumed at the inevitable routine. The danger of indefinite postponement became day by day more obvious. A large Portuguese force, under Colonel Ignacio de Jesus Xavier, was believed to be preparing to enter the Territory from the eastward, while a trek was known to be impending from the Transvaal, 1500 Transvaal burghers having already 'signed on.' Everything pointed to a desperate struggle, but the formalities, so distasteful to Rhodes, had to be observed. The High Commissioner was in communication with the Home Government, and with Sir Francis de Winton, their agent in the Swaziland-Transvaal dispute, and with Colonel Carrington, who was in charge of the Bechuanaland Police. The latter, an experienced officer, much impressed with the magnitude of the enterprise, declared that it required a picked force of 2500 men, which would have involved the Company in an expenditure far in excess of its resources. Finally, Mr. Frank Johnson, with his partners Messrs. Heany and Borrow, contracted to perform the work with a small but efficient force, for the moderate sum of £94,000. The exact personnel of the expedition was as follows :— 500 mounted police, 200 pioneers, a few volunteers and a considerable camp following, in all perhaps 1000 souls, but picked men, many of them young Colonists ac-

customed to the veld, enthusiastic in the cause and with unbounded confidence in their leaders, and especially in Rhodes, who was justly recognised by all as the moving spirit. The guns with the column were a mixed lot. One of them was a 3-inch 7-pounder gun, dated 1873, with carriage dated 1879, which had seen service in Cape Colony during the native wars. It was taken over from the British Bechuanaland Police by the British South Africa Company in 1890, in order to form part of the armament taken in by the pioneers. It was also taken in the column which subsequently left Salisbury for Bulawayo and did good service in the different engagements in 1893. It was again used in the Rebellion of 1896; and in 1899 it was placed on No. 2 armoured train for the relief of Mafeking, but was returned to Bulawayo, a more modern gun replacing it. Subsequently, at General Baden-Powell's request, it was presented to Charterhouse School, where it now rests.

Already during March 1890, Selous had paid a visit to Khama at Palapye, and obtained his promise of a native contingent to assist in driving the proposed road through the bush. Colenbrander was to have met him there, with 100 Matabele labourers verbally promised by Lo Bengula, but the party did not arrive, nor was their absence explained. Selous realised that it was a critical moment and that possibly the King was deliberately pursuing a policy of masterly inactivity. He resolved, with his customary courage, to beard the Matabele monarch at his capital. Riding, almost without a break, over 100 miles to the Tati, he drove from there at his utmost speed, arriving at Gubulawayo in four days. He was cordially received, but found the king like a fractious child, at once

petulant and alarmed. His denial that he had granted Dr. Jameson a right-of-way was not shaken by the reminder of a reliable witness, Mr. Dennis Doyle, who had been present on the occasion. He absolutely refused to allow a road to be made. 'There is,' he said, 'only one road to Mashonaland, and it goes through my country, and past Bulawayo. If Rhodes wants to send his men round my country, let him send them by sea. He has sent me many emissaries and amongst them Jameson, whom I like and whom, I am told, is Rhodes's mouth: but I am Lo Bengula, and I want to see the big white chief himself—go back and take Rhodes by the hand and bring him here.'

With this evasive answer, Selous returned to Kimberley after eleven days' hard travelling. Rhodes was disposed to accept the invitation, but men who knew the native character saw in it a ruse to obtain possession of his person as a hostage against the entrance of the column, and it was now realised that the road would have to be constructed, not only without Matabele sanction, but in the face perhaps of their active hostility.

Jameson, though at considerable risk, decided to make one more effort to keep the peace. He and Selous returned together, that being a condition imposed by Rhodes; but at the Tati, Jameson overrode his chief and, pointing out to Selous the impossibility of guiding the expeditionary force without his aid, he instructed him to turn back and make for the base camp at Macloutsie, and begin his survey of the line of march. Selous reluctantly obeyed and Jameson, travelling entirely alone, once more placed himself in the power of the suspicious king, and remained with him until the expedition was almost on its way, when

he escaped and joined the column at Palapye. Selous, meanwhile, had formed a camp of his own a few miles from Macloutsie, where he busied himself in perfecting his arrangements. To 'contain' the Matabele impis, the Bechuanaland Border Police were moved forward by the High Commissioner to Elebi, a strategic position on the south-western border of Matabeleland, thus effectually diverting the king's attention. Thus passed the month of May, on the 27th of which Jameson arrived at Palapye with Selous, who, warned of his coming, had met him on the road. Colonel Pennefather reached the same place the following day.

The expedition was now ready, but was not allowed to start until the High Commissioner was satisfied that its constitution and equipment were, in all respects, satisfactory. This caused a little further delay, utilised by Selous to push on with the new road to Tuli, a distance of 50 miles. All formalities were at length overcome: the officer sent up to examine the force (Lieutenant-General Lord Methuen) handed in a favourable report, and on the 28th June, exactly at midwinter, the expedition that was to lead to such momentous results set out on its long and tedious journey of 400 miles. Thanks to the assistance of Khama, the road as far as Tuli was already completed. The pioneers marched ahead, followed by four troops of the police. For a few days Methuen remained with the column. Colonel Pennefather, of course, was there; and Dr. Jameson as representative of Rhodes, who was detained at Cape Town by the political crisis which, a fortnight later, made him Prime Minister. There, too, was Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, who, later, became the first Administrator of the new State, and with him many younger men, full of enthusiasm and high hope. It was a gallant

band, well led and admirably equipped, but the task on which it was engaged might easily have proved beyond its capacity to perform.

A glance at the map suffices to show that the enterprise was a perilous one. On one flank it was exposed to attack by Boer filibusters, who were known to be on the alert: on the other flank lay the most formidable of all native tribes. The route, except to Selous, was unknown; and although, traversing as it did many of the tributaries of the Limpopo, there was seldom any lack of water, the pioneers suffered many hardships and annoyances. Long marches by day were generally followed by disturbed nights, by the roar of a hungry lion, or the unearthly screams of prowling hyenas. It was close on the dawn sometimes ere the tired men slept, and it was at dawn, if ever, that a Matabele onslaught would be made. At Tuli they received a shock in the arrival of a small Matabele party, bearing a message from their chief that if the 'white impi' crossed the river, he would not be responsible for the consequences. A reply was duly made, the purport of which was unknown to the column. The drivers, herds and native labourers generally exhibited, however, uncontrolled panic, and numbers deserted in the night. The expedition was thus threatened with dissolution at the very outset. Fortunately, a further contingent of Khama's men, numbering 200, of whom some were mounted, arrived at the critical moment, led by his own brother Radi-Kladi, and, under the eye of this chief, native desertion ceased, though pitiable terror remained. The column resumed its march, protected during the day by a far-flung line of scouts, and at night by a searchlight. It was calculated that no impi would be despatched until the envoys returned,

which meant, in all, a respite of three weeks. Before leaving Tuli, a strong fort was erected and garrisoned. The pioneers themselves, under Selous and Frank Johnson, led the van protected by fifty rifles. It being the post of greatest danger, of course Jameson was there. The rear, consisting of the entire transport, was guarded by the police.

On the 9th July, the pioneers reached the River Umsinqwan. Thereafter they had to cut their way, and a way for those that followed them, through seventeen miles of dense bush, no water being procurable. Such was their energy that they accomplished the task in a little over four days. On 13th July they arrived on the banks of the Umshabetsi River, passing much game and herds of elephant on the way. But no shot was permitted to be fired. In impressive silence the small column continued on its course, laagering every night as a precaution against sudden attack. On the 14th July, a mounted trooper arrived from Colonel Pennefather ordering a halt, as the convoy was now thirty-five miles behind. Jameson and Selous rode back with him, in order to urge an acceleration of pace, and under this stimulus the expeditionary force was once more reunited on the 18th July. Within twenty-four hours, however, the undaunted pioneers, axe in hand, were again in advance, 'A' troop under an energetic American, Captain Heany, leading the way. Behind came eighty waggons in a straggling line, two miles in length. Everybody was on the *qui vive* by day and night. On 1st August, by a great effort, the Lundi River was reached. Beyond that point it was impossible to obtain local natives to guide the force, and unfortunately it was exactly that portion of the route that was unknown to Selous. With an escort of only

three men, he accordingly pushed on to reconnoitre. On the second day out he ascended to the top of Zamamba, one of those bold granite hills so frequently met with in Mashonaland. From its summit, as far as the eye could reach, he saw a rugged, broken country, peak upon peak, clothed with interminable forest. Beyond the farthest hills lay, he knew, the comparatively open downs beneath Mount Hampden, but, at first sight, no practicable waggon route was discernible. There was indeed one opening visible into the distant hills, but how far it led no one could say. Undismayed, Selous pushed on into this dark gorge, and at sunset on the evening of the 3rd August, from the crown of a hill which he had laboriously climbed, he had the satisfaction of seeing a wide expanse of open country.

'As I stood alone,' he says, 'on that hill and looked first forwards across the grassy downs in the middle of which the thriving township of Victoria now stands, and then backwards down the pass by which I had ascended from the Tukwi River, a weight of responsibility, that had at times been almost unbearable, fell from my shoulders, and I breathed a deep sigh of relief. Had any delay taken place, there is no telling what might have happened, for we were cutting a road round the flank of Matabeleland, in the teeth of the remonstrances and unequivocal threats of Lo Bengula.'

On the afternoon of the 5th August, the intrepid guide was back at the camp on the Lundi River, and gave intense satisfaction by his announcement that he had discovered a practicable exit from the difficult and dangerous country now being traversed. By a happy inspiration the pass was at once named 'Providential Pass.' Eight days of toil still remained before the expedition cut their way through the bush country,

but on 14th August they were able to camp at the head of the ravine and the high plateau lay invitingly before them.

During the trek up the pass, an ultimatum was received from Lo Bengula, peremptorily ordering Colonel Pennefather to turn back. Colenbrander was the bearer of the message, and had been sent by way of Tuli, the King professing to believe that the column was still there awaiting his pleasure. The whole of Matabeleland was reported to be seething with wild excitement, the manufacture of new shields and new sandals—the sure sign of a military expedition—being pushed on with feverish haste. But the little pioneer force was undismayed. Building a strong fort, Fort Victoria, to protect their rear, they pushed on day by day, never resting, until on 1st September they reached the head of the Umgezi River and strengthened their position still further by erecting Fort Charter. Then, for another ten days, they moved steadily forward, preserving all necessary precautions to the very close of the long trek. Scouting was strictly maintained, the men slept in their clothes, and every morning, from *reveille* to daybreak, they stood to arms against a Matabele attack. But none came. Not a shot was fired, and at length, on 11th September, the Union Jack was formally hoisted on a Mopani pole on the site of the present Salisbury, a fort was built, a township was laid out, and, by the persistence of Rhodes, a new Province was added to the British Empire.

The long march will ever be associated with the name of Selous, without whose experienced guidance and sound judgment, success would have been impossible. To this day, by legislative enactment, the

settlers still make holiday on Occupation Day. Without knowing it, the pioneers had done a great deed. The power of the last of the ferocious military native tribes of South Africa was, in effect, broken for ever. War and rebellion had still to be faced and put down, but when the disciplined little force was disbanded at Fort Salisbury, they had dealt, unwittingly, a blow to barbarism from which it never recovered.

Only eleven years before at Hlobani, Kambula Kop, Gingilhovo, and Ulundi, the Zulu monarchy had gone down in a tempest of flame and fire, by the lavish expenditure of blood and treasure, and by the disciplined efforts of large masses of the regular forces of the Crown, and even then only after a disaster ever memorable in the annals of war. Now the Matabele nation, an offshoot of the Zulus and perhaps exceeding them in cruelty and lust, fell from their pride of place before a trifling irregular force and almost in solemn silence, with no tumultuous charge of naked barbarians, and no fire of gun, or beat of drum. But the victory was no less decisive. Patience and forethought, and one iron will at Kimberley, had prevailed, and civilisation took root and grew in one of the fairest quarters of Africa, where rapine and murder had for many weary years held undisputed sway.

Congratulations, of course, poured in upon Rhodes on the accomplishment of his enterprise. I only quote the following :—

'GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CAPE TOWN, 23*rd Sept.* 1890.

'MY DEAR MR. RHODES,—I have a telegram from Colonel Pennefather announcing the safe arrival of the expedition at Mount Hampden—of which you have

similar notice. Allow me to sincerely congratulate you upon the success thus far of the great work you have inaugurated for the development of, and extension of, civilisation into the heart of South Africa.—Yours very sincerely,

'HENRY B. LOCH.'

CHAPTER XXI

A JOURNEY NORTH (1890)

Rhodes's anxiety — Speaks at Kimberley — Returns to Cape Town — Accompanies High Commissioner to Bechuanaland—Takes two Dutch companions—Speaks at Vryburg—Warns Kruger—Acquires mineral rights in Barotseland—High Commissioner visits Khama—Rhodes on the Transvaal Border—Rejoins Loch at Palla—Tries to follow pioneers —Loch raises objections—Rhodes starts but returns—Crosses into Transvaal—Visits Pretoria—Civilities from Kruger—Rhodes back at Kimberley.

It is not difficult to imagine with what anxiety Rhodes had heard, from time to time, of the progress of his pioneer column. Within a few hours of the date in July on which they effected their concentration on the banks of the far-off Umshabetsi River, he had been gazetted Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. On the 11th August the second annual meeting of the De Beers Consolidated Mines was held at Kimberley, but again he was not there. 'Our chairman,' said his *locum tenens*, amid great applause, 'is detained in Cape Town on very important business, and it will be a gratification to shareholders to know that he has accepted the honourable and responsible position of head of the Government of this Colony.'

On 6th September he managed to visit Kimberley, but within a week he was back in Cape Town, endeavouring to avert the downfall of the Cape of Good Hope Bank. But his heart was in the North during those anxious days, and before the month closed he was once more in Kimberley, ostensibly to accompany the High Commissioner on a tour through Bechuanaland, but

with the, as yet, undisclosed intention of penetrating into Mashonaland.

The cares of office did not, I think, weigh heavily on him. The only attraction of the Premiership was that it increased his influence with Colonial politicians, and helped him to retain for the Empire the Northern hinterland, which would otherwise have passed for a time into Boer hands, and eventually into those of our great trade rival, Germany. Although at once a man of contemplation and of action, he disliked the routine of office life. So long as his principles prevailed, he was content to leave all details to subordinates, and, on the whole, he was well served. By political foes he was sometimes accused of not caring overmuch how his work was done provided it *was* done. It is true that the methods of his agents and instruments were, at this period of his career, not very critically viewed by him, and that he was occasionally compromised by them in a manner distasteful to friends jealous of his name and fame. His ethical standpoint was not a strict one. He probably argued that a man intent on performance, and not on mere talk about performance, must use whatever tools are handy, and that one cannot cut blocks with a razor. There is ground for stating that towards the close of his life, he regretted that he had not always been sufficiently scrupulous in the selection of his agents, but, admitting this, I submit that he was generally served with exceptional fidelity and devotion, and that in great affairs he manifested extraordinary sagacity in the choice of his representatives. In his Ministerial capacity he was, at all events, in a position to devolve his duties upon the experienced shoulders of Mr. J. X. Merriman, and this being so, he now started for the North. In pursu-

ance of his policy to conciliate the Bond, he invited two Dutch Members of Parliament to accompany him on his trip, Mr. D. C. de Waal and Mr. M. M. Venter. They were not, as politicians, in the front rank, but he probably regarded them as shrewd observers fairly typical of their class, and, as such, likely to be useful to him by being given an opportunity of seeing the 'Promised Land.' Mr. de Waal subsequently justified his selection by publishing in Dutch a readable description of the trip and presenting Rhodes in a favourable light, thereby augmenting his growing influence in Afrikander circles.

Early in the morning of 2nd October, the High Commissioner and his staff, accompanied by Rhodes and his party, left Kimberley by special train for the North, arriving in the afternoon at Taungs, the Kraal or Stad of our Bechuanaland acquaintance, Mankoroane. The chief was in a querulous mood, and after a somewhat stormy interview, was dismissed by Sir Henry Loch with scant ceremony. Mr. de Waal's comments on the occurrence are those of the average Dutchman. 'I felt,' he says, 'and Venter felt with me, that there existed far too much ingratitude in Mankoroane and his men towards their benefactors. They should be forced to do labour for the farmers.'

In the evening the party reached the railhead near Vryburg, and had a great reception from the assembled community, followed by the inevitable dinner, at which Rhodes spoke at some length. 'The speech of the Governor was appreciated much,' says De Waal naïvely, 'but that of our Premier more, for his was a political one.'

Rhodes was apparently in a genial mood. Reminding his audience that on his previous visit to the Territory

he had been accused by a high official (Sir Charles Warren) of being dangerous to the peace of the country, he said that he was there that night to bring them a gift that made for peace, a railway, and to announce the completion of his other project, a Customs' Union. And, ever with an eye on the desirability of Federation, he added, 'We are simply trying in every way to make you a part of the general system of South Africa.' Then, in a graver tone, he addressed a veiled warning to President Kruger in regard to the raid then being engineered under his auspices for the seizure of Mashonaland. 'It was only the other day,' he said, 'that I was informed on what professed to be good authority, that as regards the Territory we (the Chartered Company) have lately occupied, and which has been guaranteed to us by the Crown, the Government of the Transvaal was already devising the seizure of a part of it. I only mention it to show what malicious rumours are in circulation. Could you believe it possible that a friendly neighbouring State, when the ink on a treaty was hardly dry, could enter on a scheme to occupy our Territory? The rumour, of course, is groundless.'

This ironical sentence could not have been pleasant reading to the President, delivered, as it was, before Her Majesty's representative, and in the presence of two typical Afrikander Bondsmen, both of them members of the Cape Parliament. I think he must have realised that this masterful young man was driving a wedge into the hitherto close ranks of his Cape supporters. At Mafeking, since so famous, there was a similar reception and a similar banquet on the 6th October. Rhodes had recently received the welcome intelligence that the Zambesi was no longer his northern boundary. A cession of land and mineral rights over

Barotseland had been completed, adding enormously to the sphere of the Company's operations. To the pressmen who brought him the news, he said simply, 'See how things grow.' While at Mafeking he rode out to call on the aged chief Montsoia, by whom he was received with demonstrations of sincere attachment, and with whom he exchanged presents.

On 8th October the High Commissioner continued his journey in a northerly direction in order to pay an official visit to the important Bamangwato chief, Khama. Rhodes and his friends took a more easterly course, entering the Transvaal near Marico. All parties agreed to reunite at Palla camp on the Limpopo River. Mr. de Waal draws a pathetic picture of their first night out, which they spent at De Putten on the Transvaal border under the hospitable roof of Mr. Viljoen, a Dutchman eighty years of age, who declared that he knew the Cape Colony and both the Republics and that Mashonaland surpassed them all in fertility. He had been an eyewitness, too, of the nameless cruelties of Lo Bengula and knew his formidable power, and he was filled with forebodings as to the fate of the pioneers of whose expedition he had heard. When he learnt that his visitor was Rhodes himself, the grey-haired old man at once offered his services and those of all his sons to help to repel a Matabele attack, and his wife, who shared his enthusiasm, proudly declared that her husband could still ride as hard and shoot as straight as in his early youth. It is slight wonder that Rhodes always spoke with pride and respect of the indomitable courage of the Dutch Voortrekker, a courage displayed on many a bloody field unrecorded in the pages of history.

On 13th October the party outspanned at the junction

of the Limpopo and Marico Rivers, over 1000 miles from Cape Town; and on the 16th arrived at Palla camp on the Protectorate side of the Limpopo, where they found a detachment of the Bechuanaland Police. While at the camp, Rhodes received the following telegram from his colleague Merriman. 'Reuter has following. *Times* this morning suggests that Chartered Company pioneer force now at Mount Hampden should at once take possession of the Zambesi. It is impossible, adds that journal, longer to humour the vanity of the Portuguese. Message ends, much better let them loose on the Pungwe before the Germans anticipate you.' I have not seen Rhodes's reply to this communication.

The High Commissioner rejoined them on the following day, and after a brief rest the entire party moved on to Macloutsie, which was reached on 28th October. There they were welcomed by 100 men of the British South Africa Police and 300 men of the Bechuanaland Police, the little garrison being maintained at full strength to guard against a Matabele inroad. Mr. de Waal notes, with surprise, that the ranks were filled with young Afrikanders in good health and spirits. Macloutsie was the assigned limit to this tour of inspection, and the High Commissioner now prepared to return to Cape Town. To his dismay, Rhodes announced his intention of following up the pioneers, if he went by himself. With this decision His Excellency remonstrated in the strongest terms, pointing out that he had sure information from Moffat that the Matabele were spoiling for a fight and were almost uncontrollable; and he added that Rhodes, the Prime Minister, had responsibilities which he could not ignore, and that his capture would lead to a costly and danger-

ous war. Sir Frederick Carrington and Sir Sidney Shippard, who were present, joined energetically in the protest. Rhodes rejoined calmly that the real object of his tour was not to see Khama's country, with which he was already familiar, but to enter Mashonaland. The meeting broke up, says De Waal, with 'mutual dissatisfaction,' and to avoid further remonstrances, Rhodes and his companions decamped during the night, leaving the High Commissioner to return to Cape Town at his leisure. Curiously enough, Rhodes having returned to Macloutsie the following night to fetch a doctor for Venter, who fancied himself to be ill, met no less a person than Colonel Pennefather, who had ridden back at speed to announce the safe arrival of the pioneers at their destination. After conferring with that officer, he again rejoined his party, who were in camp on the Lotsani River. He brought with him a letter left behind by the High Commissioner, remonstrating with him, in formal terms, on the peril involved in continuing the journey. The two Dutch members now agreed that it would be unbecoming to proceed, and finally it was decided not to go further than the Tuli River, which was reached on 1st November. There they rested and received further ominous accounts of the excitement in Matabeleland, and also learnt that all the rivers, lately so easily forded by the column, were now in full flood. On the 5th November they crossed the majestic Crocodile or Limpopo River and were upon Transvaal soil. The point at which they crossed is still marked on the maps as 'Rhodes's Drift.' Pietersburg was reached on 8th November, and a few days later they halted at a river fondly called by the Boers 'de Groot Nijl.' Here they met some stalwart Matabele lads who had fled from the wrath

of their king. De Waal's comment is characteristic, 'What excellent labourers, I thought, would these men make for the white men. If Kafirs only knew the advantages of serving under white masters, they would gain more civilisation in one year than they do from missionaries in fifty.'

The following day they found themselves within a moderate distance of Pretoria, and were met by a mounted trooper in uniform who, after saluting, inquired in Dutch, 'Are these the waggons of President Rhodes?' Satisfied on this point, he delivered an official invitation to him and his *entourage* to be the guests of the State, and, later on, State carriages arrived with several Executive members. It must be admitted in justice to the President that he was extremely punctilious in his courtesies to distinguished strangers. They finally arrived in the capital on a Saturday evening, and met with a cordial greeting. It has been affirmed that Kruger declined to grant an interview on Sunday and, therefore, that Rhodes left without seeing him. This is not correct. The President, always true to his convictions, never 'received' on Sunday, but the interview duly took place early on Monday morning, and was of a most friendly nature. The two strong men parted with expressions of mutual respect, and Rhodes was escorted out of town in the afternoon by three Ministers of State and a detachment of artillery. 'Artillery—against whom?' may have been the Premier's unspoken thought. After a brief stay in Johannesburg, the little company left for Kimberley, where they arrived on the 20th November, and thus ended the first effort of the founder of Rhodesia to penetrate into the country subsequently called by his name.

At Kimberley Rhodes heard with satisfaction that

his disbanded pioneers were assuming occupation of the farms allotted to them, or were out on the open veld prospecting for gold, and finding many evidences of ancient working. Civil administration was reported to be in full swing, and the vast expanse of territory hitherto devastated by annual Matabele raids, was now at peace, and entering on an era of progress under a stable and orderly government.

Rhodes had been exactly twenty years in South Africa, and might well be content to rest and be thankful, but such was not his nature. He was already looking after 'those things that are before' and scanning the distant horizon with an ever-widening outlook.

To gain space for the expansion of the British race was his ever-present thought, and in season and out of season he toiled and struggled, spending himself and being spent, to found free communities under our flag, which, in their turn, would carry on under more clement skies than those of England the traditions of justice, freedom and commerce which he held to be the distinguishing characteristics of Anglo-Saxon civilisation.

He might well have exclaimed with Wordsworth :—

> 'It is not to be thought of that the flood
> Of British freedom, which, to the open sea
> Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
> Hath flowed, "with pomp of waters, unwithstood,"
> Roused though it be full often to a mood
> Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
> That this most famous stream in bogs and sands
> Should perish; and to evil and to good
> Be lost for ever. In our halls is hung
> Armoury of the invincible knights of old;
> We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
> Which Milton held.—In everything we are sprung
> Of earth's first blood, have titles manifold.'

CHAPTER XXII

EXPLOITATION OF THE CHARTER

'Mtasa's Kraal—Trouble with Portuguese—Selous at Macequece—Another fight with Portuguese—Captain Forbes—Mr. Fiennes—Gungunhama—His Envoys in London—Further Portuguese fighting—Capture of guns—Renny-Tailyour—Lippert Concession—Cost of Concessions—Acquisition of rights in Bechuanaland—Lewanika—Barotseland—North-west Rhodesia—North-east Rhodesia—Rhodes meets Chartered shareholders—Area of acquisitions—Dr. Jameson at Cape Town—Rhodes writes to Mr. Stead.

It is, of course, natural, human nature being what it is, that the occupation and development of Rhodesia should have engendered fierce opposition on the part of unsuccessful Concession-holders, as well as on that of neighbouring States. In the press, and sometimes in the Law Courts, conflicting interests made themselves vocal. Controversies raged for months and smouldered for years. One by one competitors were dealt with. Rhodes had a genius for compromise, and gradually the tangled skein was unwound and all rivals disposed of.

Brief allusion has already been made, in passing, to some of the Concessions which Rhodes found it necessary to acquire or extinguish before he could effectively exploit the Royal Charter. A more extended reference to the subject may now be convenient.

The original Rudd Concession over the minerals in Southern Rhodesia did not by any means cover the whole ground. Some idea of the extent of the opposition that had to be bought off may be gleaned by perus-

ing the earlier reports of the directors, and the proceedings at successive meetings of the Company's shareholders. Thus, at the Extraordinary General Meeting held in November 1893, it was reported that the Company had already sustained three assaults in the House of Commons and two in the Law Courts, while other litigants had utilised the public press to carry on an extensive campaign. Attempts to damage the Company in the Commons failed owing to its spirited and convincing defence by Mr. Rochfort Maguire, and both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Balfour declared that no case for inquiry had been made out. In the Courts assailants fared no better, one Judge ruling that the attacks were unprecedented, and another that they were outrageous. In the press, or rather in that section of the press which lent itself to the agitation, statements were made which time alone could refute. A well-known weekly paper repeatedly averred, for instance, that there was no gold in Rhodesia, whereas gold to the amount of eleven millions sterling has since been 'won' and added to our currency. Mr. Hawksley, at the meeting referred to, gave an amusing description of the tactics resorted to in connection with what was then known as the Baines Concession, pointing out that the document had slept from 1871 to 1889, had been treated by Lo Bengula as no longer valid, and had only been revived as a weapon of offence against the Charter. Nevertheless, although barred by the Statute of Limitations, the grant had been treated with respect and acquired by the British South Africa Company. Another very disputable claim of the Austral-Africa Company was similarly recognised, not on its merits, but for the sake of peace.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the claims

sent in and dealt with. Their acquisition was but a fraction of the various rights secured by the pertinacity of Rhodes. Lo Bengula was a great potentate but he did not exercise unquestioned jurisdiction over the whole territory south of the Zambesi. There was a distinct fringe of native States to which his annual raids seldom, if ever, extended. The powerful chief, Umtasa or 'Mtasa, occupied a fertile portion of Mashonaland, then known as Manicaland, a district marching with the Portuguese frontiers. As is well known, Great Britain and Portugal were on distinctly unfriendly terms. Major Serpa Pinto's armed invasion of English soil on the Shiré River had led to our demand for his recall, and on 11th January 1890, an ultimatum was delivered and a British squadron sent to Portuguese waters. King Carlos yielded to superior force, but manifested keen resentment which led to his refusal to accept the Order of the Garter. The representatives of Portugal had for many years neglected to secure themselves on their African borders. Our occupation of Mashonaland galvanised them into temporary activity, and it soon came to our knowledge that they were preparing an expedition to demonstrate to 'Mtasa, by a show of force, that they claimed the over-lordship, a claim already frequently made on paper but never enforced. Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, the first Rhodesian Administrator, judged that there was no time to be lost. When our occupation column was still fifty miles from its final destination, he branched off in order to visit 'Mtasa, guided by Selous, whose knowledge of the route was indispensable. Lieutenant Adair Campbell of the pioneers, and Mr. Christopher Harrison, the Administrator's Private Secretary, accompanied them. After a deeply interesting journey over a well-wooded

and well-watered mountainous country, the party reached 'Mtasa's Great Kraal on the slopes of a vast hill, distinguished even in that romantic region for its picturesque beauty. After a full 'Indaba' a satisfactory Treaty was made with the Chief on 14th September 1890, all native formalities being duly observed. By virtue of this document the Company obtained sole land and mineral rights over a productive and auriferous district. Leaving one solitary policeman there, as the emblem of authority, Selous then rode over the mountain to Macequece to give formal notice of the Concession to the Portuguese Commandant, Baron de Rezende, by whom he was received with scant cordiality. That officer, not unnaturally, resented any appearance of poaching on what he professed to consider his preserves. 'Mtasa, however, had already given us the most explicit assurances that neither he, nor any one on his behalf, had ever ceded an inch of his territory to Portugal, or recognised her pretensions to suzerainty, and he added that the Portuguese resided on his borders merely on sufferance. Leaving Macequece, Selous, with his small escort, visited all the various independent Chiefs in Southern and Eastern Mashonaland, obtaining Concessions for the Chartered Company from every one of them except Matoko, the aged chief of the Mabudga tribe, who had never up to that time held any intercourse with Europeans, and who, though friendly, preferred to stand aside and think it over. On the 27th November, Selous arrived at Salisbury under the impression that peace was unbroken. Such, however, was not the case. While he had been on the veld, several events had happened.

Early in October, alarmed at a rumour that the Portuguese were collecting a force for an unknown

destination, 'Mtasa appealed to the Company for protection. It was, of course, absolutely necessary to demonstrate our power and our good faith by affording him support. Accordingly on 10th October, a small police force was despatched to the Chief, under Lieutenants Graham and Shepstone; and a detachment of 'A' troop, under Lieutenant the Hon. Eustace Fiennes, then an impetuous young officer, but since a staid member of the House of Commons, was ordered to march across country from Fort Charter. Captain P. W. Forbes, a fearless and resourceful soldier, left Salisbury on 31st October to take command, and after several days' hard travelling, he reached the Chief's Kraal on 4th November. Fiennes had not arrived, and Forbes found himself at the head of about ten or twelve policemen and a couple of volunteers. From the 8th to the 15th November, he was practically surrounded by seventy armed men under a Goanese adventurer in the Portuguese service, locally known as Gouveia. 'Mtasa was in abject terror, fearing he had backed the wrong horse, and his anxiety was redoubled when, on 15th November, Colonel d'Andrada and the irritated Baron de Rezende arrived with a large and well-armed following and took military possession of the Chief's enclosed kraal. Fortunately on the same day three civil officials of the Company came in from Salisbury, and Lieutenant Fiennes, by a forced march, entered the British camp with twenty troopers. Forbes at once gave a taste of his quality. With happy audacity he entered the Kraal from the rear and boldly arrested the Portuguese officers with his own hand, while Fiennes and his men disarmed their followers, who submitted and fled. D'Andrada and Gouveia were sent to Salisbury under escort, and the Baron

deported to his own headquarters at Macequece. All of them were men of courage and ability, but the desertion of their levies rendered them powerless to do more than protest, which they did in a copious manner. It was a small skirmish but significant. The incident entirely reassured 'Mtasa that he was justified in placing himself under the protection of the Company. On 19th December, Selous left Salisbury to revisit Matoko, and after a long palaver, vividly described by the great hunter in language that cannot be bettered, the octogenarian chief and his head-man, influenced no doubt by our recent summary treatment of Portuguese pretensions, executed a valid Concession in favour of the Company. The document bears date 5th January 1891.

With another powerful chief, Gungunhama of Gazaland, whose territories also marched with those of Portugal, a satisfactory treaty was likewise made. The arrangement partook of the nature of a lease, and the Chief received his rents with almost childish delight. Protests from Lisbon were recorded, but the claims of Portugal were not based on treaties or on effective occupation, but on a mere exchange of presents. After full deliberation, the Secretary of State felt justified, on 9th February 1893, in confirming Gungunhama's Concession of mining and territorial rights, though, with that exaggerated and chivalrous deference to the shadowy pretensions of Portugal, which we have always traditionally exhibited in Africa and elsewhere, Lord Ripon qualified his approval as being given only 'so far as it affects or relates to the territories of Gungunhama which lie within the British sphere of influence.' This cryptic reservation left the Chief in a rather unenviable position. He had already sent two Indunas to England,

requesting our protection, but it was officially refused, and in the end poor Gungunhama became embroiled with Portugal and, after a gallant resistance, was overthrown and exiled to Lisbon, where he died in captivity. These Indunas, Huluhulu Umteto and Umfete Inteni by name, were of course officially fêted, shown a review at Aldershot and granted an audience at Windsor. They also attended a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society and were taken the round of our industrial centres, but an East African Blue Book published after their departure recorded Lord Salisbury's decision that the bulk of their territory lay within Portugal's sphere of influence—a decision not visibly in accordance with the facts.

Before leaving this portion of my subject, I should add that, after the fiasco with 'Mtasa, the Portuguese arranged a temporary *modus vivendi* with the Company, which was to expire on 15th May 1891. Unfortunately for their fair fame, their local officials, influenced by resentment and chagrin, violated the truce. On 11th May, a strong mixed Portuguese force made an unexpected attack on the Company's camp near Umtali. But its commander, Captain Heyman, was a dangerous man to meddle with. The assault was repulsed with severe loss, and the police, assuming the offensive, pushed on and occupied Macequece the next day. A Portuguese flag captured on the occasion still hangs in the library of Groote Schuur. The police also captured seven Hotchkiss and two Nordenfeldt guns, and 30,000 rounds of ammunition. The engagement was watched by the delighted 'Mtasa from a hill well out of range. It would be unjust to charge Portugal herself with bad faith, but one of the inconveniences of her position as a colonising power has ever been the inability of

the central authority to restrain the actions of distant officials.

With regard to the Concessions obtained by the Company in Matabeleland, it will suffice to say that the various interests were practically already merged into one when Lord Gifford, on Rhodes's behalf, made provisional application on the 30th May 1889, for the Royal Charter. The application was expressly made on behalf of a Company 'to be formed out of the amalgamation of the most important of the various companies and individuals holding interests in Mashonaland.' The principal parties referred to were the following: the Gold Fields of South Africa, the Exploring Company, the Austral-Africa Company, Baron Erlanger, Rothschild and Sons, Mr. Rhodes, Jules Porges and Company, Mr. Rudd, Mr. Maguire, Mr. Haggard, Mr. Leask, Mr. Thompson and Mr. Fry. The formal petition for the Charter, dated 13th July 1889, was signed by the Dukes of Abercorn and Fife, Lord Gifford, Cecil John Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Albert Henry George Grey and George Cawston. It must be borne in mind, however, that the 'principal interests' above referred to related, in the main, to mineral rights. The Rudd Concession covenanted, it is true, with its holders to grant no further land rights, and empowered them to exclude from the Territory all unauthorised persons seeking Concessions. But it did not, in express terms, convey concessionary rights over the soil. As it seemed essential to possess such rights, recourse was about to be had to Lo Bengula, when it was discovered that he had already, on the 22nd April 1891, granted a Land Concession to Mr. E. R. Renny-Tailyour, who transferred it on 15th May following to Mr. Edward Lippert, a German subject. The latter hastened to

offer it to Lord Rothschild, by whom it was declined.

The Chartered Company naturally contested the validity of this document, on the threefold ground—that it conflicted with the terms of their own Concession: that it had not been signed by the King and his Indunas but only attested by his Elephant Seal, which was in the custody of a local trader: and that it had not been ratified by the Secretary of State. On 12th September 1891, however, Rhodes, through Mr. Rudd, and in strict accordance with his habitual policy, purchased the document for what it might be worth, but conditionally on its being replaced by a new Concession, validly signed and attested according to native law. The required document, Mr. Moffat being witness, was executed on 11th February 1892, and confirmed by Lord Knutsford, the Secretary of State, on 5th March 1892. This very important agreement, generally known as the Lippert Concession, gives the Chartered Company its undisputed right to deal, as owner, with the entire land rights of Southern Rhodesia. It will thus be seen that the Company gradually, step by step, came to possess the three attributes necessary for its efficient working.

A. Mineral and other rights obtained under the Rudd and other subsidiary Concessions, examined into and confirmed by Her Majesty's Government.

B. Land rights granted under the Lippert, Baines and other Concessions and similarly confirmed.

C. Administrative rights conferred by the original Charter and supplementary Orders in Council which from time to time defined, with precision, the Company's boundaries and sphere of opera-

tions, and authorised its maintenance of an armed force to preserve law and order.

It is clear from the foregoing that the Company's property, as distinguished from their governing power, was not derived from, though it was confirmed to them by, the Crown. Their property was acquired from various sources and at various dates, and also in various ways, *i.e.* by cession, transfer and purchase. Roughly speaking, its acquisition cost, in all, a sum of over £1,300,000; while its administration has cost £4,800,000, and its defence another £2,700,000. These are heavy sums to have been found by merchant adventurers for Imperial purposes. It says much for our country that such men, from the spacious days of Elizabeth to the present date, have never been wanting in the endeavour to extend the Empire by private enterprise.

Rhodes was not for long contented with his dominions in Matabeleland and Mashonaland. To protect his rear as he pushed North, he addressed himself to the tedious task of acquiring rights from the numerous chiefs in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. A brief summary of these may be given. The Sechele Concessions Syndicate, as the assignees of one Sydney Morris, claimed that they held :—

A. A Mineral Concession from Sechele, dated 28th August 1889, giving them sole prospecting, manufacturing and banking rights for a period of fifty years.

B. A Railway and Telegraph Concession.

C. A Trading Concession.

D. An Administrative Concession for fifty years.

A Concession Commission, appointed by the High

Commissioner, made short work of these claims, declaring them to have been improperly obtained. Ultimately a new Concession over all mineral rights was secured for a limited period, ratified by the Crown and purchased by Rhodes.

Another Concession, granted by a brother chief, Sebele, on 8th June 1891, to two men, Riesle and Nicholl, was in the form of a perpetual lease over 800 square miles of territory. This was reduced by the Commission to 160 square miles and, in its amended shape, was bought by the Chartered Company at a later date for £12,000 and an annuity to Sebele. A third Concession was obtained on 25th July 1893, from Khama, the paramount Bamangwato chief, giving proprietary rights over the whole of his Territory, under certain specified conditions. This was confirmed to the Chartered Company, also under conditions, by Lord Ripon on 23rd November in the same year. A fourth Concession, dated 22nd July 1898, was granted by Linchwe, the chief of the Bakhatlas, to Mr. Julius Weil, by whom one half interest therein was transferred to the Chartered Company. A fifth, known as the Bangwaketsi Concession, was given by the chief Bathoen and purchased by the Company on 4th May 1889. Under this Concession the Company has developed and settled a considerable area called the Lobatsi block. A sixth Concession was from Moremi, chief of the Batwanas, and was dated 28th August 1889. The document conferred on its holders sole prospecting and other valuable rights. The acquisition of this Concession cost the Company, later on, £52,000. A seventh Concession was secured to the Company over all that land, virtually derelict, which had been abandoned by Khama, and which lay

between the Bangwaketsi Native Reserve and the Transvaal border. In terms of this grant, and under the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, the Tuli and Gaberones blocks have been surveyed and in part beneficially occupied by settlers under the Company. Lastly, the disputed territory referred to in a previous chapter, *i.e.* the country between the Macloutsie and Shashi Rivers, came under the jurisdiction of the Company. It had been claimed by Lo Bengula and by Khama, and both chiefs had granted, or were believed to have granted, Concessions which overlapped. The area of this district is 4000 square miles. Working agreements were come to with all parties in possession, but the formal confirmation of the Crown is still awaited.

Long ere the negotiations relating to the above grants approached completion, Rhodes was far on his way to the interior, and adding province to province. The great chief Lewanika, once a barbarian of the Lo Bengula type, but already softened by missionary influence, had granted various Concessions in 1890, which had been transferred to the Company. The Directors in the first Report to 31st March 1891, say, 'Understanding that Lewanika, king of the Barotse nation, whose power extends over an enormous tract of country to the North of Bechuanaland, was desirous to come under the protection of Great Britain, Mr. Rhodes despatched a mission to that chief, with the object of establishing friendly relations and of obtaining Concessions from him. The Barotse king had already granted a mineral and trading Concession over a portion of his country to Mr. Ware. Terms were made for the purchase of this Concession, and the Company's Mission was able to arrange with the king

that it should be merged into a larger Mineral and Trading Concession over the whole of the Barotse country, covering an area estimated at 225,000 square miles. As proof of his good will, Lewanika has sent to the Directors two magnificent elephant tusks each weighing over 100 lbs.'

A further Concession over all the land and minerals within a radius of fifteen miles of the Victoria Falls was obtained on 8th March 1905, and finally, on 23rd January 1906, a cession was made to the Company under the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, of the whole of Barotseland, with the exception of Lewanika's own reserve, due safeguards being introduced for the protection of the tribe. Some time before this, the territory had been recognised by Orders in Council as an integral portion of the Chartered Company's domain, and has since been governed by the Company through its own Administrator, whose position is somewhat analogous to that of an Imperial Resident at the court of an Indian feudatory prince. The country is known as North-Western Rhodesia and its affairs fall within the cognisance of the High Commissioner. By other treaties of a similar nature, as well as by occupation, a third province, entitled North-Eastern Rhodesia, has been gradually built up by the Company and recognised by Her Majesty's Government. This province, bounded in part by its sister provinces, stretches away in a north-easterly direction and touches the upper end of Lake Nyasa, and the southern end of Lake Tanganyika.

Among the enterprises absorbed in the process of forming North-Eastern Rhodesia may be mentioned the African Lakes Company, a spirited British enter-

prise engaged in commercial and missionary work, but crippled in its finances by the necessity of waging incessant war against the slave trade. The Chartered Company came to its assistance with a grant of £20,000, and ultimately took over its engagements and assets. Mr. H. H. Johnston, C.B.—now Sir Harry Johnston—became the first Administrator of the new Province, holding at the same time the position of Commissioner for British Central Africa or Nyasaland. The Imperial Government contemplated, for a time, the abandonment of this valuable possession, and it is not sufficiently realised that the Territory was only saved to the Empire by the action of Rhodes, who induced the Chartered Company to pay an annual subsidy of £10,000, being practically the whole cost of its administration. In his speech to shareholders on 29th November 1892, Rhodes made a caustic allusion to this transaction. 'It is not,' he said, 'a case of Her Majesty's Government paying for the Charter, but the Chartered Company is assisting the Government to govern its Territory (cheers) and the Company is paying £10,000 a year to the Protectorate on the shores of Lake Nyasa. I do not complain, but if there were a little more public spirit, this sort of thing would not happen.'

Some idea of the extent of the country covered by the Concessions enumerated in this chapter may be gathered by a glance at the map of South Central Africa. The three Rhodesias form a compact territory, centrally situated, stretching between 8 and 26 Deg. South Latitude, and from 20 to 34 Deg. East Longitude. The only blot on the picture is due to Lord Salisbury in allowing Germany to drive a wedge of territory into the heart of North-Western Rhodesia in order to gain

access to the Zambesi. Its boundaries are as follows: On the south, British Bechuanaland (now incorporated in the Cape Colony); on the south-east, the Transvaal; on the east, the possessions of Portugal and Nyasaland; on the north-east, German East Africa; on the north, the Congo State; on the west, German South-West Africa and Portuguese Territory.

The area, according to the latest calculations, may be stated thus:—

Bechuanaland,	275,000	square miles.
S. Rhodesia,	148,575	,,
N.-W. Rhodesia,	137,105	,,
N.-E. Rhodesia,	150,330	,,

or a total of 711,010 square miles, a large proportion of which is high plateau land, fertile, well-watered and in parts well-wooded; a land where, with ordinary attention to hygiene, Europeans thrive and can rear their children without having to send them to Europe at an early age: emphatically, as Rhodes often said, a land for 'more homes,' where the denizens of our overcrowded towns will, in the not distant future, reside in ever-increasing numbers. Making every allowance for the loyal service of his associates, this vast area had been added to the Empire by the genius and persistence of one man, and it is only fitting that it should be called after his name. For a while it was loosely and inaccurately described as Zambesia, but the popular instinct, so seldom wrong, gave it at an early date the name of its founder. On 27th October 1894, Dr. Jameson, at a banquet in Cape Town, so called it amid loud applause, and finally, early in 1895, official sanction was given to the title, and thus Rhodes had the rare satisfaction of living long enough to see this

well-merited recognition of his great and lasting achievement.

It only remains to compare the area of the Company's territory with that of older States :—

Great Britain,	121,000	square miles.
France,	207,000	,,
Prussia,	134,600	,,
Austria,	116,000	,,
Spain,	190,000	,,

The united area of these great European States is not much in excess of the dominions of the Chartered Company. It is not too much to say that there is nothing in the climate of Rhodesia to prevent it from ultimately supporting a white population equal to that of any European country of equivalent size ; and from this fact alone, with the exercise of a little imagination, we may measure the extent of the benefit which Rhodes has conferred on his mother country.

'I desire,' he said himself, in his celebrated letter to Mr. Stead, 'I desire to act for the benefit of those who, I think, are the greatest people the world has ever seen, but whose fault is that they do not know their strength and their greatness, and their destiny.'

A curious commentary on this remark is that the shareholders are scattered literally all over Europe. In other words, the Province added by Rhodes to the Empire was built up and developed, in part, with foreign money, our greatest trade rivals thus unconsciously aiding us to enlarge our Dominions.

APPENDIX

CHARTER OF INCORPORATION OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

VICTORIA by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

WHEREAS a Humble Petition has been presented to Us in Our Council by THE MOST NOBLE JAMES DUKE OF ABERCORN Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath; THE MOST NOBLE ALEXANDER WILLIAM GEORGE DUKE OF FIFE Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, Privy Councillor; THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDRIC FREDERICK LORD GIFFORD, V.C.; CECIL JOHN RHODES, of Kimberley, in the Cape Colony, Member of the Executive Council and of the House of Assembly of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope; ALFRED BEIT, of 29, Holborn Viaduct, London, Merchant; ALBERT HENRY GEORGE GREY, of Howick, Northumberland, ESQUIRE; and GEORGE CAWSTON, of 18, Lennox Gardens, London, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law.

AND WHEREAS the said Petition states amongst other things:—

That the Petitioners and others are associated for the purpose of forming a Company or Association, to be incorporated, if to Us should seem fit, for the objects in the said Petition set forth, under the corporate name of The British South Africa Company.

That the existence of a powerful British Company, controlled by those of Our subjects in whom We have confidence, and having its principal field of operations in that region of South Africa lying to the north of Bechuanaland and to the west of Portuguese East Africa, would be advantageous to the com-

mercial and other interests of Our subjects in the United Kingdom and in Our Colonies.

That the Petitioners desire to carry into effect divers concessions and agreements which have been made by certain of the chiefs and tribes inhabiting the said region, and such other concessions agreements grants and treaties as the Petitioners may hereafter obtain within the said region or elsewhere in Africa, with the view of promoting trade commerce civilization and good government (including the regulation of liquor traffic with the natives) in the territories which are or may be comprised or referred to in such concessions agreements grants and treaties as aforesaid.

That the Petitioners believe that if the said concessions agreements grants and treaties can be carried into effect, the condition of the natives inhabiting the said territories will be materially improved and their civilization advanced, and an organization established which will tend to the suppression of the slave trade in the said territories, and to the opening up of the said territories to the immigration of Europeans, and to the lawful trade and commerce of Our subjects and of other nations.

That the success of the enterprise in which the Petitioners are engaged would be greatly advanced if it should seem fit to Us to grant them Our Royal Charter of Incorporation as a British Company under the said name or title, or such other name or title, and with such powers, as to Us may seem fit for the purpose of more effectually carrying into effect the objects aforesaid.

That large sums of money have been subscribed for the purposes of the intended Company by the Petitioners and others, who are prepared also to subscribe or to procure such further sums as may hereafter be found requisite for the development of the said enterprise, in the event of Our being pleased to grant to them Our Royal Charter of Incorporation as aforesaid.

NOW, THEREFORE, We, having taken the said Petition into Our Royal consideration in Our Council, and being satisfied that the intentions of the Petitioners are praiseworthy and deserve encouragement, and that the enterprise in the Petition described may be productive of the benefits set forth therein, by Our Pre-

rogative Royal and of Our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have constituted erected and incorporated, and by this Our Charter for Us and Our Heirs and Royal successors do constitute erect and incorporate into one body politic and corporate by the name of The British South Africa Company the said James Duke of Abercorn, Alexander William George Duke of Fife, Edric Frederick Lord Gifford, Cecil John Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Albert Henry George Grey and George Cawston, and such other persons and such bodies as from time to time become and are members of the body politic and corporate by these presents constituted, erected and incorporated with perpetual succession and a common seal, with power to break alter or renew the same at discretion, and with the further authorities powers and privileges conferred, and subject to the conditions imposed by this Our Charter: And We do hereby accordingly will, ordain, give, grant, constitute, appoint and declare as follows (that is to say):—

1. The principal field of the operations of The British South Africa Company (in this Our Charter referred to as 'the Company') shall be the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese Dominions.

2. The Company is hereby authorized and empowered to hold, use and retain for the purposes of the Company and on the terms of this Our Charter, the full benefit of the concessions and agreements made as aforesaid, so far as they are valid, or any of them, and all interests, authorities and powers comprised or referred to in the said concessions and agreements. Provided always that nothing herein contained shall prejudice or affect any other valid and subsisting concessions or agreements which may have been made by any of the chiefs or tribes aforesaid. And in particular nothing herein contained shall prejudice or affect certain concessions granted in and subsequent to the year 1880, relating to the territory usually known as the District of the Tati, nor shall anything herein contained be construed as giving any jurisdiction, administrative, or otherwise, within the said District of the Tati, the limits of which District are as follows, viz.: from the place where the Shasi River rises to its junction with the Tati and Ramaquaban Rivers, thence along the Ramaquaban River to where it rises, and thence along the watershed of those rivers.

3. The Company is hereby further authorized and empowered, subject to the approval of one of Our Principal Secretaries of State (herein referred to as 'Our Secretary of State'), from time to time, to acquire by any concession agreement grant or treaty, all or any rights interests authorities jurisdictions and powers of any kind or nature whatever, including powers necessary for the purposes of government, and the preservation of public order in or for the protection of territories, lands, or property, comprised or referred to in the concessions and agreements made as aforesaid or affecting other territories, lands, or property in Africa, or the inhabitants thereof, and to hold, use and exercise such territories, lands, property, rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions and powers respectively for the purposes of the Company and on the terms of this Our Charter.

4. Provided that no powers of government or administration shall be exercised under or in relation to any such last-mentioned concession agreement grant or treaty, until a copy of such concession agreement grant or treaty in such form and with such maps or particulars as Our Secretary of State approves verified as he requires, has been transmitted to him, and he has signified his approval thereof either absolutely or subject to any conditions or reservations, And provided also that no rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions, or powers of any description shall be acquired by the Company within the said District of the Tati as hereinbefore described without the previous consent in writing of the owners for the time being of the Concessions above referred to relating to the said District, and the approval of Our Secretary of State.

5. The Company shall be bound by and shall fulfil all and singular the stipulations on its part contained in any such concession agreement grant or treaty as aforesaid, subject to any subsequent agreement affecting those stipulations approved by Our Secretary of State.

6. The Company shall always be and remain British in character and domicile, and shall have its principal office in Great Britain, and the Company's principal representative in South Africa, and the Directors shall always be natural born British subjects or persons who have been naturalized as British subjects by or under an Act of Parliament of Our United Kingdom; but this Article shall not disqualify any person nominated a Director by this Our Charter, or any person whose election as a Director shall

have been approved by Our Secretary of State, from acting in that capacity.

7. In case at any time any difference arises between any chief or tribe inhabiting any of the territories aforesaid and the Company, that difference shall, if Our Secretary of State so require, be submitted by the Company to him for his decision, and the Company shall act in accordance with such decision.

8. If at any time Our Secretary of State thinks fit to dissent from or object to any of the dealings of the Company with any foreign power and to make known to the Company any suggestion founded on that dissent or objection, the Company shall act in accordance with such suggestion.

9. If at any time Our Secretary of State thinks fit to object to the exercise by the Company of any authority, power or right within any part of the territories aforesaid, on the ground of there being an adverse claim to or in respect of that part, the Company shall defer to that objection until such time as any such claim has been withdrawn or finally dealt with or settled by Our Secretary of State.

10. The Company shall to the best of its ability preserve peace and order in such ways and manners as it shall consider necessary, and may with that object make ordinances (to be approved by Our Secretary of State) and may establish and maintain a force of police.

11. The Company shall to the best of its ability discourage and, so far as may be practicable, abolish by degrees, any system of slave trade or domestic servitude in the territories aforesaid.

12. The Company shall regulate the traffic in spirits and other intoxicating liquors within the territories aforesaid, so as, as far as practicable, to prevent the sale of any spirits or other intoxicating liquor to any natives.

13. The Company as such, or its officers as such, shall not in any way interfere with the religion of any class or tribe of the peoples of the territories aforesaid or of any of the inhabitants thereof, except so far as may be necessary in the interest of humanity and all forms of religious worship or religious ordinances may be exercised within the said territories and no hindrance shall be offered thereto except as aforesaid.

14. In the administration of justice to the said peoples or

inhabitants, careful regard shall always be had to the customs and laws of the class or tribe or nation to which the parties respectively belong, especially with respect to the holding, possession, transfer and disposition of lands and goods and testate or intestate succession thereto, and marriage divorce and legitimacy and other rights of property and personal rights, but subject to any British laws which may be in force in any of the territories aforesaid, and applicable to the peoples or inhabitants thereof.

15. If at any time Our Secretary of State thinks fit to dissent from or object to any part of the proceedings or system of the Company relative to the peoples of the territories aforesaid or to any of the inhabitants thereof, in respect of slavery or religion or the administration of justice, or any other matter, he shall make known to the Company his dissent or objection, and the Company shall act in accordance with his directions duly signified.

16. In the event of the Company acquiring any harbour or harbours, the Company shall freely afford all facilities for or to Our ships therein without payment except reasonable charges for work done or services rendered or materials or things supplied.

17. The Company shall furnish annually to Our Secretary of State, as soon as conveniently may be after the close of the financial year, accounts of its expenditure for administrative purposes, and of all sums received by it by way of public revenue, as distinguished from its commercial profits, during the financial year, together with a report as to its public proceedings and the condition of the territories within the sphere of its operations. The Company shall also on or before the commencement of each financial year furnish to Our Secretary of State an estimate of its expenditure for administrative purposes, and of its public revenue (as above defined) for the ensuing year. The Company shall in addition from time to time furnish to Our Secretary of State any reports, accounts, or information with which he may require to be furnished.

18. The several officers of the Company shall, subject to the rules of official subordination and to any regulations that may be agreed upon, communicate freely with Our High Commissioner in South Africa and any others Our officers, who may be stationed within any of the territories aforesaid, and shall pay due regard to any requirements suggestions or requests which the said High Commissioner or other officers shall make to them or any of them

and the Company shall be bound to enforce the observance of this Article.

19. The Company may hoist and use on its buildings and elsewhere in the territories aforesaid, and on its vessels, such distinctive flag indicating the British character of the Company as Our Secretary of State and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty shall from time to time approve.

20. Nothing in this our Charter shall be deemed to authorize the Company to set up or grant any monopoly of trade; provided that the establishment of or the grant of concessions for banks, railways, tramways, docks, telegraphs, waterworks, or other similar undertakings or the establishment of any system of patent or copyright approved by Our Secretary of State, shall not be deemed monopolies for this purpose. The Company shall not, either directly or indirectly, hinder any Company or persons who now are or hereafter may be lawfully and peaceably carrying on any business concern or venture within the said District of the Tati hereinbefore described, but shall by permitting and facilitating transit by every lawful means to and from the District of the Tati across its own territories or where it has jurisdiction in that behalf and by all other reasonable and lawful means encourage assist and protect all British subjects who now are or hereafter may be lawfully and peaceably engaged in the prosecution of a lawful enterprise within the said District of the Tati.

21. For the preservation of elephants and other game, the Company may make such other regulations and (notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained) may impose such license duties on the killing or taking of elephants or other game as they may think fit: Provided that nothing in such regulations shall tend to diminish or interfere with any hunting rights which may have been or may hereafter be reserved to any native chiefs or tribes by treaty, save so far as any such regulations may relate to the establishment and enforcement of a close season.

22. The Company shall be subject to and shall perform and undertake all the obligations contained in or undertaken by Ourselves under any treaty agreement or arrangement between Ourselves and any other State or Power whether already made or hereafter to be made. In all matters relating to the observance of this Article, or to the exercise within the Company's territories for the time being, of any jurisdiction exercisable by Us under the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, the Company shall conform to and

observe and carry out all such directions as may from time to time be given in that behalf by Our Secretary of State, and the Company shall appoint all necessary officers to perform such duties, and shall provide such Courts and other requisites as may from time to time be necessary for the administration of justice.

23. The original share capital of the Company shall be £1,000,000 divided into 1,000,000 shares of £1 each.

24. The Company is hereby further specially authorized and empowered for the purposes of this Our Charter from time to time—

(I) To issue shares of different classes or descriptions, to increase the share capital of the Company, and to borrow moneys by debentures or other obligations.

(II) To acquire and hold, and to charter or otherwise deal with, steam vessels and other vessels.

(III) To establish or authorize banking companies and other companies, and undertakings or associations of every description, for purposes consistent with the provisions of this Our Charter.

(IV) To make and maintain roads railways telegraphs harbours and any other works which may tend to the development or improvement of the territories of the Company.

(V) To carry on mining and other industries, and to make concessions of mining forestal or other rights.

(VI) To improve develop clear plant irrigate and cultivate any lands included within the territories of the Company.

(VII) To settle any such territories and lands as aforesaid, and to aid and promote immigration.

(VIII) To grant lands for terms of years or in perpetuity, and either absolutely, or by way of mortgage or otherwise.

(IX) To make loans or contributions of money or money's worth, for promoting any of the objects of the Company.

(X) To acquire and hold personal property.

(XI) To acquire and hold (without license in mortmain or other authority than this Our Charter), lands in the United Kingdom, not exceeding five acres in all, at any one time for the purposes of the offices and business of the Company and (subject to any local law) lands in any of Our Colonies or Possessions and elsewhere, convenient for carrying on the management of the affairs of the Company, and to dispose from time to time of any such lands when not required for that purpose.

(XII) To carry on any lawful commerce, trade, pursuit, business,

operations, or dealing whatsoever in connection with the objects of the Company.

(XIII) To establish and maintain agencies in Our Colonies and Possessions, and elsewhere.

(XIV) To sue and be sued by the Company's name of incorporation, as well in Our Courts in Our United Kingdom, or in Our Courts in Our Colonies or Possessions, or in Our Courts in Foreign countries or elsewhere.

(XV) To do all lawful things incidental or conducive to the exercise or enjoyment of the rights, interests, authorities and powers of the Company in this Our Charter expressed or referred to, or any of them.

25. Within one year after the date of this Our Charter, or such extended period as may be certified by Our Secretary of State, there shall be executed by the Members of the Company for the time being a Deed of Settlement, provided so far as necessary for—

(I) The further definition of the objects and purposes of the Company.

(II) The classes or descriptions of shares into which the Capital of the Company is divided, and the calls to be made in respect thereof, and the terms and conditions of Membership of the Company.

(III) The division and distribution of profits.

(IV) General Meetings of the Company; the appointment by Our Secretary of State (if so required by him) of an Official Director, and the number qualification appointment remuneration rotation removal and powers of Directors of the Company, and of other officers of the Company.

(V) The registration of Members of the Company, and the transfer of shares in the capital of the Company.

(VI) The preparation of annual accounts to be submitted to the Members at a General Meeting.

(VII) The audit of those accounts by independent auditors.

(VIII) The making of bye-laws.

(IX) The making and using of official seals of the Company.

(X) The constitution and regulation of Committees or Local Boards of Management.

(XI) The making and execution of supplementary deeds of settlement.

(XII) The winding up (in case of need) of the Company's affairs.

(XIII) The government and regulation of the Company and of its affairs.

(XIV) Any other matters usual or proper to be provided for in respect of a chartered Company.

26. The Deed of Settlement shall, before the execution thereof, be submitted to and approved by the Lords of Our Council, and a certificate of their approval thereof, signed by the Clerk of Our Council, shall be endorsed on this Our Charter, and be conclusive evidence of such approval, and on the Deed of Settlement, and such Deed of Settlement shall take effect from the date of such approval, and shall be binding upon the Company, its Members, Officers and Servants, and for all other purposes whatsoever.

27. The provisions of the Deed of Settlement or of any supplementary Deed for the time being in force, may be from time to time repealed, varied or added to by a supplementary Deed, made and executed in such manner as the Deed of Settlement prescribes. Provided that the provisions of any such Deed relative to the official Director shall not be repealed, varied or added to without the express approval of Our Secretary of State.

28. The Members of the Company shall be individually liable for the debts contracts engagements and liabilities of the Company to the extent only of the amount, if any, for the time being unpaid, on the shares held by them respectively.

29. Until such Deed of Settlement as aforesaid takes effect the said James Duke of Abercorn shall be the President; the said Alexander William George Duke of Fife shall be Vice-President; and the said Edric Frederick Lord Gifford, Cecil John Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Albert Henry George Grey, and George Cawston, shall be the Directors of the Company; and may on behalf of the Company do all things necessary or proper to be done under this Our Charter by or on behalf of the Company: Provided always that, notwithstanding anything contained in the Deed of Settlement of the Company, the said James Duke of Abercorn, Alexander William George Duke of Fife, and Albert Henry George Grey, shall not be subject to retire from office in accordance with its provisions but shall be and remain Directors of the Company until death, incapacity to act, or resignation, as the case may be.

30. And We do further will ordain and declare that this Our Charter shall be acknowledged by Our governors and Our naval and military officers and Our consuls, and Our other officers in Our colonies and possessions, and on the high seas, and elsewhere, and they shall severally give full force and effect to this Our Charter,

and shall recognise and be in all things aiding to the Company and its officers.

31 And We do further will, ordain and declare that this Our Charter shall be taken construed and adjudged in the most favourable and beneficial sense for, and to the best advantage of the Company as well in Our courts in Our United Kingdom, and in Our courts in Our colonies or possessions, and in Our courts in foreign countries or elsewhere, notwithstanding that there may appear to be in this Our Charter any non-recital, mis-recital, uncertainty or imperfection.

32. And We do further will, ordain and declare that this Our Charter shall subsist and continue valid, notwithstanding any lawful change in the name of the Company or in the Deed of Settlement thereof, such change being made with the previous approval of Our Secretary of State signified under his hand.

33. And We do further will, ordain and declare that it shall be lawful for Us Our heirs and successors and We do hereby expressly reserve to Ourselves Our heirs and successors the right and power by writing under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom at the end of 25 years from the date of this Our Charter, and at the end of every succeeding period of ten years, to add to alter or repeal any of the provisions of this Our Charter or to enact other provisions in substitution for or in addition to any of its existing provisions. Provided that the right and power thus reserved shall be exercised only in relation to so much of this Our Charter as relates to administrative and public matters. And We do further expressly reserve to Ourselves Our heirs and successors the right to take over any buildings or works belonging to the Company, and used exclusively or mainly for administrative or public purposes on payment to the Company of such reasonable compensation as may be agreed, or as failing agreement may be settled by the Commissioners of Our Treasury. And We do further appoint direct and declare that any such writing under the said Great Seal shall have full effect, and be binding upon the Company, its members, officers and servants, and all other persons, and shall be of the same force, effect, and validity as if its provisions had been part of and contained in these presents.

34. Provided always and We do further declare that nothing in this Our Charter shall be deemed or taken in anywise to limit or restrict the exercise of any of Our rights or powers with reference to the protection of any territories or with reference to the govern-

ment thereof should We see fit to include the same within Our dominions.

35. And We do lastly will, ordain and declare, without prejudice to any power to repeal this Our Charter by law belonging to Us Our heirs and successors, or to any of Our courts ministers or officers independently of this present declaration and reservation, that in case at any time it is made to appear to Us in Our Council that the Company has substantially failed to observe and conform to the provisions of this Our Charter, or that the Company is not exercising its powers under the concessions agreements grants and treaties aforesaid, so as to advance the interests which the Petitioners have represented to Us to be likely to be advanced by the grant of this Our Charter, it shall be lawful for Us Our heirs and successors, and We do hereby expressly reserve and take to Ourselves Our heirs and successors the right and power by writing under the Great Seal of Our United Kingdom to revoke this Our Charter, and to revoke and annul the privileges powers and rights bereby granted to the Company.

In Witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent.

Witness Ourself at Westminster, the 29th day of October, in the fifty-third year of Our reign.

By warrant under the Queen's Sign Manual.

MUIR MACKENZIE.

The Great Seal of the United Kingdom.

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Printed by T. and A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty at the Edinburgh University Press

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